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The Cost of (Mis)Communication: Information Routes, Power Struggles & Gender in Sport for Development

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Social Science in Practical Anthropology

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Table of Contents

Table of Photos and Figures

List of Acronyms

Department of Sport and Recreation ..... DSR
National Department of Sport and Recreation ..... NDSR
Non-Governmental Organization ..... NGO
Not-for-Profit Organization ..... NPO
South African Football Association ..... SAFA
Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa ..... SFSA
University of Cape Town ..... UCT
United Nations ..... UN

Abstract

This thesis falls at the intersection of sport, development and anthropology in Africa by examining a sport for development non-governmental organization based in Cape Town, South Africa. Using ethnographic data, I argue that individuals control and use information to reinforce, negotiate or challenge the structures of power inherent in sport and development organizations. Tracing the flow of information through the organization reveals where information is controlled, manipulated, or stifled, which results in power struggles, interpersonal tensions, and the inability of both individuals and the organization to meet the desired goals. The intended procedures of information transfer differ from reality due to unclear expectations and organizational structure, last minute changes in plans, and individuals withholding or manipulating information. The power structure of the organization is reinforced and negotiated through these actions, and where information flow is inhibited and power is restricted, negative personal and organizational results ensue. Project Coordinators and staff respond to these communication and organizational pressures by 'paraffining', a term referring to the negative improvisation or falsification of life skills lessons, events, or reports. This is a creative coping mechanism that demonstrates how individuals negotiate within power structures in order to present themselves as competent professionals, which can also have negative consequences. When information overcomes the communication blocks, it is used by female Project Coordinators and coaches to legitimize their positions of authority and challenge gender stereotypes surrounding women and soccer in South Africa. Although many factors affect these contestations over power, this study demonstrates the centrality of information control and manipulation and its effects on the implementation of soccer programs for girls in the townships surrounding Cape Town.

Acknowledgements

Firstly I thank and give praise to my Lord and saviour, Jesus Christ, my joy and strength through difficult times.

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Thank you to my small group from His People Ministries, who helped me up from the valleys. The UCT Women's Soccer team, players and coaches, were an inspiration and source of motivation throughout the year, especially towards the end. I thank you all for your support, encouragement and confidence that I could excel both on and off the pitch.

Finally, this degree would not have been possible without the generous financial and personal support of my parents, grandparents, family and friends in Canada and South Africa. I thank them for believing in me and giving me the freedom to blossom and grow even from a distance.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

"Sisonke?" *[Are we together?]*
"Simunye." *[We are one.]*
"Simunye?" *[Are we one?]*
"Sisonke." *[We are together.]*

Photo 1: Isiphiwo, Hopolang, and Emithini Primary School teams eagerly await the start of the 'Best of the Community' tournament.

The excited chatter coming from three lines of brightly clad young soccer[1] players quiets to a dull murmur after this brief call and answer led by Nolo[2], the Head Program Coordinator for the football division of Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa (SFSA). It is a brisk winter afternoon and we are standing in the middle of an otherwise desolate set of soccer fields. The girls are dressed in newly acquired kit, the fabrics forming a line of blue sandwiched between two lines of yellow. Some are wearing long-sleeved jerseys, some soccer socks and no shoes, but most have bare legs and feet. They stand eagerly awaiting the start of a 'Best of the Community[3]' competition to decide which two teams will progress to the 'Best of the Best' Regional Tournament in a few weeks.

The girls are facing a semi-circle of coaches, program coordinators, myself, and the Director of the Community Safety and Crime Prevention Unit of the local police force. Nolo asks everyone to introduce themselves, then introduces herself as the CEO, manager, program coordinator and coach (a convoluted and exaggerated self-introduction). The girls are welcomed with a reminder of what SFSA is about, the significance of this tournament, and an educational speech by the police Director.

Photo 2: Emithini Primary (yellow and black), control the ball during the community finals against Isiphiwo Primary (yellow and white).

Emithini Primary in yellow kick off against Hopolang Primary in blue for the first semi-final game. Isiphiwo Primary has been given a bye to the finals as transport failed to be arranged for the Sakumlandela Primary team. Emithini won the semi-final 3-1 putting them in the finals with Isiphiwo. The final is intense and tight, ending in a 1-1 draw, leading to penalty kicks. Isiphiwo wins 4 goals to 3, awarding the players with the title 'Best of the Community', individual medals and a team trophy to be received at the regional tournament.

This 'Best of the Community' Tournament occurred at the end of the fieldwork period and reflects many other events planned and executed by the Program Coordinators during my fieldwork. It was planned mostly at the last minute due to a decision made by the Director that was not communicated to everyone, leading to cooperation among some of the Project Coordinators but internal conflict and misunderstanding among others. The event could be considered a success since

[1] Soccer and football are used interchangeably in South Africa and this thesis.
[2] To respect confidentiality, names of all individuals, schools and organizations studied have been changed, and photographed individuals are not discussed directly.
[3] I echo the participants' use of 'community' referring to a common geographic region. See Thornton & Ramphele (1988) for a thorough discussion on the various South African uses of community.

girls were playing soccer and two teams proceeded to the finals. However, the team unable to attend due to transport problems missed not only the opportunity to participate in the games of that day, but also the chance to represent their community in the upcoming regional finals. This thesis examines some of the reasons why this and other events do not reach their full potential. During fieldwork I came to realize that despite discrimination and lack of support in some areas, women's soccer is growing, dynamic with great potential. Getting the girls to play was not the main obstacle impeding the progress of the Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa (SFSA) as I had expected. Rather, the control of information flows and communication break-downs within the organization, revealing power struggles and internal conflicts, were major impediments to SFSA meeting its goals. This research explores the impact of organizational capacity on meeting stated goals, an under-researched field in anthropology, sport sociology and development studies.

Theoretical Framework

Before describing the specifics of SFSA, it is necessary to provide some background as foundation and orientation for the fieldwork. This section introduces the context of anthropology and development, ideas of structure and agency, 'sport for development', and women's soccer in South Africa, followed by a description of the methods used in this research.

Development Anthropology or Anthropology of Development

The intersection of anthropology and development has recently become a popular topic for scholars along with the Millennium Development Goals, the proliferation of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and global challenges surrounding politics, economics, health, and the environment. Mosse (2001) points out the two types of anthropology related to development: development anthropology and anthropology of development (see also Escobar, 1991; Gardner & Lewis, 1996; and Grillo, 1997). The former uses anthropological methods to resolve problems, change programs, or understand the views of various actors and the effects of development projects on such actors. The latter, anthropology of development, is a critical study of the projects, interests, structures, and people involved in development.

This study is a combination of the two approaches: by working within an NGO to identify challenges in implementing programs, it can be classified as 'development anthropology'. However, in critiquing the project, personnel, and procedures of the organization, this study also falls under 'anthropology of development'. The results of the study can thus have an impact on both the practical realm of the NGO and the academic realm more generally.

Within the discipline of anthropology, particularly regarding development, there is an ongoing debate about structure and individual agency. Ferguson (1990:276) adopts a structural approach to

understanding the development 'machine'. He states that focusing on the intentions of individuals within development interventions misses the complexities of the context and neglects the larger structures of power of which the organization and its intentions are "only one cog among others". Ferguson's main point is that the apparent frequent failure of development projects is due to the development 'apparatus' as a whole, rather than individual actors.

Although it is important to understand the overall development structure within which individual organizations find themselves, I use an actor-centred approach, focusing on individual agency within society's structure, as advanced by Norman Long (2001). In reference to development interventions, Long (2001) argues that the recipients of such interventions are not passive, but are, rather, part of the program, deciding what and how to integrate the intervention in their own lives and in turn reshaping the intervention to suit their own needs or social situation. Individuals are influenced by the broader situation but also have agency to be able to understand and act within that situation. Rossi (2004) supports the actor-centred approach by using the ideas of Foucault and Bourdieu to understand individual agency within structures of power, pointing out the dialectic relationship between the two. Individuals involved in the implementation of projects are influenced by power hierarchies but also reshape those structures as they pursue their own agendas. Bourdieu (1977) argues that individuals have various amounts of power, due to societal power structures that may severely limit their choices. Whereas Barth (1966) uses the term "transactional" to describe the interactions between people that are strategic and calculated to obtain individual gain. Giddens' (1979) theory of "structuration" also links structure and agency where structure is the medium and the outcome for social practices that create the structure, while at the same time, the structure enables and constrains action. Therefore despite structures of power that are found within society at large and in development organizations in particular, individuals also have room to manoeuvre, negotiate and influence the same structures. This is the crux of my argument: that individuals operate within the structure of development organizations, yet they also exercise agency and are empowered (or disempowered) through the structure, negotiate within it and are able to influence it.

The actor-centred approach draws attention to the chains of actors involved in development projects and the various interfaces where these actors interact (Long, 2001). The social process and encounters at these interfaces where individuals are struggling to make their views known or accepted, involve knowledge, power and authority (Long, 2001:20). These situations and domains of knowledge are constantly being reformulated and negotiated as individuals and groups try to define and defend their social space. Most anthropology of development, such as that presented by Gardner and Lewis (1996), focuses on how individual recipients of the development projects reproduce or resist development interventions, rather than on those who are part of the development

organizations. This study, by contrast, focuses on how individuals operate inside the power structures within development organizations.

The reproduction of, or resistance to, development interventions and the knowledge that passes through chains of actors also affects the staff in development projects. Gardner and Lewis (1996) demonstrate that knowledge is both political and historical in relation to the exercise of power. According to Foucault (1980), power is interconnected with society, establishing strategic relationships arising from the ability to define truth and to use that definition to further self seeking projects. Mosse (2001) expands on this view as he argues that development organizations are complex political systems with a variety of actors trying to satisfy their own goals by different means. Information is used to protect and/or negotiate positions of power. Sports organizations are also institutions where power and domination are at play, being imposed, controlled, and contested (Messner, 1992). The intersection of sport and development, with the added dimension of gender in the male dominated field of football, is no exception to such 'power plays'.

This case study focuses on tracing the flow of information within a 'sport for development' organization and examines how the information is used to reinforce, negotiate or challenge power structures within the organization or of sport and soccer in South Africa. By focusing on the individuals in the settings and circumstances studied, taking into consideration the structures within which they operate and how information is controlled, negotiated or utilized, this study provides a greater understanding of the reasons why the implementation of some 'sport for development' programs are neither as effective as their proponents intend, nor as they have the potential to be.

'Sport for Development' and Women's Soccer in South Africa

Development organizations are not the only place where power is at play; sport organizations also experience institutional challenges, negotiation, and power contestation. Greta Cohen (1993) examines the 'culture of sport' as a global phenomenon, since its universal appeal transcends culture. Yet sport exists within a social context that shapes how it is viewed or developed in different locations.

Sport for Development is an area that NGOs and governments are capitalizing on throughout the world. Organizations across Africa, such as Right To Play, SCORE (Sports Coaches Outreach), Grassroot Soccer, Kicking AIDS Out, and the Mathare Youth Sports Association[4] are all using sport not only to promote healthy life styles among youth, but also as a means to spread humanitarian messages regarding peace, gender equality, racial integration, HIV/AIDS, and the environment. Many studies have demonstrated the positive impact sports and physical activity have on women's health, including: maintenance of healthy body weight, academic improvements, enhanced mental health,

[4] These names are not pseudonyms as the names have been specifically listed in published articles.

improved self-esteem, and lower rates of sexual activity and pregnancy (for example: Brady, 1998; Brady and Khan, 2002; UN, 2003, 2008).

Women in Africa as a whole are significantly behind their European or North American counter-parts in terms of women's participation rates and performance in soccer. However, the patterns of male hegemony on this continent are similar to those elsewhere: female athletes are devalued, exploited, and oppressed (Hall, 2002:13; Hargreaves, 1997; Pelak, 2005). Initiatives aimed at increasing female equality in sport, such as Title IX in the United States, have increased participation levels of women, yet coaching and administrative positions in women's sport are still mainly filled by men (Dworkin & Messner, 2002). Football, particularly, is seen as a realm of male domination where men form allegiances that exclude women in order to maintain their position of power (Pfister et al., 2002). Talbot (2002) demonstrates that the conventional, male-dominated structures, procedures, and constitutions of sports organizations resist change and are guarded systems of male patronage that exclude women.

A few studies have focused on South African women's soccer, including Cynthia Pelak's research from 1999 and 2000 highlights how women are combating the material and ideological constraints they face (Pelak, 2005). The South African history of segregation through apartheid affected access to resources differently, depending on one's racial categorization and residential location[5] (Alegi, 2004; Merrett, 2006; West, 1988). As Pelak (2005) points out, Black African women were the worst affected both pre and post-apartheid. In her research on the Western Province Women's Soccer League, she found that teams from 'African communities' disbanded sooner than teams from 'Coloured communities' due to financial constraints, particularly regarding transport for practices and games. Other scholars echo these statements: Jennifer Hargreaves (1994, 2000) reveals the variation between South African women's access to sports facilities and resources; and Denise Jones states: "The cumulative effect of cultural constraints, gendered social roles and a serious lack of adequate infrastructures and resources, means that Black females, especially African women, have the most obstacles to overcome" (2003: 140). Although women in South African football are a heterogeneous group, they all experience some degree of material and organizational constraints to sport participation with lack of: finances, equipment, structure, and access to male dominated decision-making bodies or positions of authority (Burnett, 2002; Hargreaves, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2004; Jones, 2003; Roberts, 1992; Saavadra, 2003; White & Scoretz. 2002).

Women in South Africa as a whole have seen tangible gains regarding their participation, representation and outcomes in the political realm post-apartheid, revealed through the numerous

[5] The South African apartheid government had an elaborate system of racial categorization based on the Population Registration Act (1950) and the Group Areas Act (1950) that restricted where people could live and work according to imprecise indicators including skin colour, descent as well as marriage partners, habits, education and demeanour in general (see Frankental & Sichone, 2005; Sharp, 1988; West, 1988).

national charters and committees focused on women's rights (Hassim, 2005; Gouws, 2005; Govender, 2005; van der Westhuizen, 2005). Simply increasing the number of women in decision-making roles is considered insufficient without improving individual welfare; their participation must be effective, and noticeable (van der Westhuizen, 2005: 19). It is the subtle norms, procedures, processes and structures within institutions that are harder to remove as they "uphold particular power relations" and can block these voices from being heard (Hassim, 2005: 338; Talbot, 2002).

Notwithstanding these constraints, there is a general increase in female participation in South African sport. Although sponsorship, opportunities, and participation rates have increased in the past ten years, women's teams in general still lack the finances, resources, and structures needed for success (Saavedra, 2003). Recent South African government publications recognize women are under-represented in sport participation, with "social, cultural and political factors" given as a main cause of the disparity (Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR), 2005:26; Sports Information and Science Agency (SISA), 1997). Lack of media attention and financial investment, as well as disparate facility and resource allocation are other major contributors to explain why only 11% of South African women participate in sports (DSR, 2005). The original White Paper on sport published post-apartheid also calls for special attention on women and girls because they are important for increasing the participation levels of the entire society. Women should be supported, trained and encouraged to join the national federations and should not have to fight through barriers in accessing jobs in training, administration, coaching, or sport and recreation management (NDSR, 1998:18).

Women's soccer in South Africa is growing, with the Western Cape SAFA (South African Football Association) league having three divisions in 2008: a Premier League with ten teams, a Super League with eight teams, and a Provincial League with twelve teams. High Schools leagues for girls have also started to emerge across the city of Cape Town, although they are still found mostly in historically White or Coloured areas. Schools in other areas occasionally support teams; however, they are not sustainable without regular games and highly dedicated coaches. Soccer in South Africa is thus not a homogeneous space and women are challenging the male dominated structures daily. SFSA specifically chose to work with Black African school girls in the townships because they are recognized to be some of the most disadvantaged people in South Africa today.

Methodology

Personal Involvement

This study allowed me to combine a number of personal passions: women's soccer, development work, and anthropology. I come from a background of sport, participating in popular Canadian sports such as soccer, ice hockey and lacrosse from a young age. Soccer is seen as a mixed gendered sport in Canada, whereas ice hockey and lacrosse are traditionally male domains with a

recent increase in female participation. On arrival in South Africa I joined the University of Cape Town (UCT) Women's Soccer team and quickly discovered an unfamiliar realm of soccer full of race, gender and class politics.

My Bachelor of Arts Honours degree in International Development Studies included a ten month internship in Tanzania with the 'sport for development' organization, Right To Play, a rapidly expanding International NGO providing sport programs in refugee camps and urban centres around the world. This experience introduced me to the gender dimensions of sport in Africa and the complicated world of development. I was drawn to the Masters of Practical Anthropology degree at UCT by the desire to complete relevant professional and applied research. Anthropology provides a unique avenue to question, investigate, and critique the complexities of a situation while still creating a space for individual expression and relationship during research and in the presentation of the material found.

In the process of finding an NGO for my required internship, I interviewed six 'sport for development' organizations working with women and soccer and decided on SFSA. SFSA recently started a football program focused on girls in primary school, providing football practices, games, tournaments, and 'FUN'damental life skills lessons. I first interviewed all the Project Coordinators and visited an afternoon program. The following week I returned and talked with the Program Manager and Regional Director who were excited to have me explore the structural barriers of the organization, the restrictions for female soccer participation and the experiences of other similar organizations.

Full time research started at the beginning of July, part way through the university winter holidays, which coincided with the High School holiday period [see Appendix A for an outline of my schedule]. I became immersed in a three-day leadership camp where new and old volunteer coaches gathered to learn the life skills lessons for the following semester as well as participate in leadership building activities. Thereafter, I worked full time, following the Project Coordinators in meetings, office work, and program implementation for three weeks. For the following four weeks I still came to the office daily, taking off two mornings during the week to attend UCT classes. After this official fieldwork period I continued office visits and interviewing, and attended certain major events. My initial focus on soccer players and the community changed due to school holidays, five days of soccer specific coach training, poor weather, and disorganization that led to minimal contact with the female soccer players and more contact with the Project Coordinators and the structure of the organization.

Data Collection Methods

Anthropology is best known for its methodology of participant observation, where the researcher observes daily behaviours and participates in common activities in the research site (Nanda & Warms, 2002). This was my main method of research, as I participated in a three-day training camp,

soccer specific coaching clinics (five full days spread across three weeks), weekly meetings with the whole organization as well as smaller focus groups, daily planning and organizing activities within the office, as well as a number of life skills lessons, soccer matches and special events including Women's Day, a celebration of a corporate donation, The 'Best of the Community' finals, and The 'Best of the Best' regional finals.

At first I spent most of my time participating in the trainings and taking extensive notes on what was happening and how people reacted. This allowed the participants and myself to become familiar with each other. I also used semi-structured interviews, with a set of guiding themes and questions, allowing the participant to focus on important themes as they arose (Bernard, 2002). Over the fieldwork period I completed nine interviews with members from other soccer or sport related organizations within Cape Town and one phone interview with an organizer of a soccer club in Port Elizabeth. I interviewed six teachers or sport assistants from five schools. At one school I met with both the teacher, who was also the Chair of the regional School Sports Council, and the sport assistant. Within SFSA, I interviewed the Director, the Program Manager, all four of the Project Coordinators for the soccer program, as well as three from the general sports program, and conducted four formal interviews with volunteer coaches. I also had many informal conversations and discussions with the Project Coordinators, volunteer coaches, local community members, and some of the female players. I was fortunate in that many matters I wished to raise were discussed during weekly staff and coach meetings similar in structure to focus group interviews. I attended six coach meetings and seven staff meetings.

During the fieldwork I also took over 1000 photos and videos, mainly at special events, and training sessions. Copies were given to the organization to use as promotional materials and for personal albums. Photographs and videos help to capture scenes in greater detail than words can describe; they can also be reviewed to remind the researcher of early events or people that became more important later in the research process.

Method of Data Analysis

Throughout and after each event and interview I took detailed notes that were later transferred to electronic documents as transcriptions, summaries, or descriptions. Most interviews were also voice recorded. The documents were organized according to type of event or interview and transferred to the computer-aided data analysis program NVIVO, where the documents were coded for similar themes in line with the focus of the thesis. Coding documents allows one to deal more easily with large amounts of electronic data and find common themes from different participants. This is known as second level coding according to Miles and Huberman (1994) where parts of the data have already received descriptive codes and are now compared and linked through hierarchical

categories that reveal relationships, explanations or interpretations within the data. The patterns revealed were then discussed with the Project Coordinators to find out whether they agreed with the statements I was making and collected into the format seen here as well as into a separate research report written specifically for the organization.

Limitations and Ethical Considerations

No research project is free from complications or limitations and this project was no exception. The main challenges I encountered were difficulties with language, access to soccer players, and the need to be flexible with last minute schedule changes. Many conversations and interactions were conducted in Xhosa and even when translated, many nuances and ideas were no doubt lost in the translation. Most participants spoke fluent English, and although learning Xhosa would have been advantageous, it was not feasible for a study of this scope. Having limited access to the female players also caused me to adjust my focus as the programs that were supposed to be organized were often postponed, cancelled due to poor weather, or not at the said time. This meant, for example, that in the seven weeks of working with the organization, I did not observe a complete soccer practice, even though I did observe many matches and life skills lessons.

The Project Coordinators and coaches quickly got used to seeing me around the office and sports events and often commented on my continual habit of taking notes, which they called on to record meeting minutes or verify events that they had discussed in previous meetings. One Project Coordinator was uncomfortable with me recording her discussions and would occasionally say, "No, don't write that down", or would alert someone else to a potentially objectionable comment I had recorded. If there was an objection I would delete or erase the comment but most of the time the participants wanted to be heard and allowed the comments to remain. At times they would even check to make sure that I had recorded a statement 'properly', or add to my notes.

Consent forms were used to obtain permission from the participants prior to interviews. Most informal conversations did not involve consent forms; however, I tried to make those I was talking to aware of my research. When I talked with children, it was through a teacher or coach due to language barriers, and I received permission first.

As far as possible, identities are concealed in this document. Although I have tried to ensure that none of the information gathered is directly harmful, there could be negative consequences for individuals where my record shows that they are not fulfilling their job requirements (see Chapter 4). Any potentially detrimental statements reflect behaviours and attitudes already known and observed by the participants and are thus not a breach of confidentiality. I do recognize, however, that the concreteness of such a report – a copy of which will be given to the organization – may carry greater weight than casual experience of events.

On that note, I must also say that no ethnography can be a full picture of the complexities of an organization, situation, or individual. Like all ethnography, my research is partial at best and, emerges from my background, training, past experiences and vantage point[6]. Geertz notes that, "complete objectivity is impossible" (1973:30); nevertheless, conclusions are validated through systematic and methodical research supported by adequate and appropriated evidence. On the following pages I present the results of systematic ethnographic research that incorporates multiple participants' voices and views while acknowledging that the analysis and conclusions are mine.

Chapter Overview

Building on the personal, academic and methodological background above, the chapters that follow examine how and why information is controlled and utilized, and how professional relationships and structures of power inhibit or allow individuals to reach their professional objectives and complete their jobs effectively. The following chapter provides more specific background and situates the important actors in the SFSA power structure, as well as introducing some of the reasons for tensions and/or differences of perspective among the research participants.

Chapter three examines the difference between the intended procedures for information transfer in planning events and the actual practices within SFSA, revealing the impacts on the staff, learners, and overall organization. This gap demonstrates how power structures are reinforced or negotiated through the control of information and how individuals are inhibited from effective job completion.

The fourth chapter explores the continuum of how Project Coordinators and coaches 'paraffin'[7] information from a negative improvisation of life skills lessons to falsification of reports. This creative coping mechanism demonstrates how individuals negotiate within structures of power to demand or control information; a response to their inability to meet professional expectations with the desire to still present themselves and the organization in a positive light.

Chapter five discusses how gender relations and positions of power within soccer and development organizations in South Africa are challenged as people receive and use new forms of information and knowledge in order to make informed decisions. Despite the difficulties women face internally and externally, there is great potential for an effective program combating stereotypical gender norms. The final chapter summarizes the various ways in which individuals control and use information in order to reinforce, negotiate or challenge structures of power found in sport and development organizations and how this control of information enhances or inhibits their ability to perform their jobs effectively.

[6] See Birth (1990), Clifford (1986), and Rapport & Overing (2000), for a more thorough discussion on the 'partial' nature of ethnographies.

[7] 'Paraffining' refers to negative improvisation, falsification of information, or not doing a job to its full extent, a term gleaned from Paraffin Safety Training that SFSA presents.

Chapter 2 - What is Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa (SFSA)?

Background

Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa (SFSA) started after 1994 as a small, community based Not-for-Profit Organization (NPO) and has been growing steadily since. It operates in several Southern African countries, with international funding[8]. The football section of SFSA started in 2007 when an external organization approached SFSA with curriculum assistance, a donated vehicle and funding for a soccer program. Unfortunately this funding only lasted for one year, ending early in 2008.

SFSA started out presenting the life skills curriculum to co-ed classes in primary schools while running the occasional tournament where schools were invited to enter a mixed team with five boys and two girls. However, they found that the girls were not being included in the play. Hence, the 2008 program shifted to girls only. As the Director explained, "We understand that everyone is trying to work with boys going to the 2010 World Cup, but our service ever since we started is to those who need it the most, those that are disadvantaged, one way or another. So we are talking about, not only people from poor community, but it's girls at this point"[9] (Interview, August 11, 2008). Halfway through 2008 there was also an intention to shift the life skills lessons from the classrooms to the practice field. However, this shift was not well understood or implemented as most staff members in fact continued teaching in classrooms until the end of the season.

A strategic planning session occurred in March 2008 to hone the organizational vision. The final report is still in process; however, it produced a number of succinct statements, objectives and goals, including the following provisional mission statement:

> SFSA is a not-for profit organisation that develops leaders to implement youth development programmes in Southern Africa. We use community [sport] programmes that emphasise fun and sportsmanship, while delivering a research based curriculum that enables youth to make better decisions around relevant social issues such as HIV prevention, conflict resolution, drug/alcohol abuse and gender issues (Wessels & Coetzee, 2008).

SFSA provide leadership and skills training with the aim of developing young leaders to deliver life skills and sport specific programs. Young leaders are also developed as they organize events, run leagues, and liaise with schools and other NGOs. Primary school children are impacted as they participate in the 'FUN'damental and interactive life skills curriculum developed in collaboration with other NGOs, international and local researchers, and SFSA staff. The learners receive sports training which correspondingly benefits their body, mind, and spirit.

The football division of SFSA operates in three townships outside of Cape Town, an area that covers approximately 100km^2 and is home to 470,000 people (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

[8] Specific details of the organization have been omitted to protect anonymity.
[9] Direct quotes are reproduced verbatim. Grammatical errors have not been corrected.

Originally, each location was supposed to include four schools, however more were added as schools expressed interest and coaches approached the schools closest to their home. At the end of 2008, there were twenty-seven schools participating, three were participating only in the soccer leagues, two did not have any learners graduate from the life skills curriculum, and seven continued with life skills lessons in the classrooms in addition to life skills lessons with the soccer teams. One location split their league into two streams clustering schools near each other for logistical ease. Differences in each location made for confusing reports and difficulties in standardization across the schools.

Organizational Structure

The complex organizational structure quickly displaced my initial impression of a simple and straight-forward structure. During my first interview, the staff members described the structure of the organization as a tree (see figure 1), with the Board of Directors as the roots, the Director and Project Manager as the trunk, the branches signify staff members, the smaller branches the coaches and the fruits symbolize the children who are blooming. The sun symbolizes the funders and the wind the challenges that the organization faces. One of the staff members stated:

> Without the roots there's no tree, without the branches, which I think is us, there would be no [coach], no fruit, without the small branches there is no fruit, without no leaves there's no fruit. Without the fruit there's no use for us (June 11, 2008).

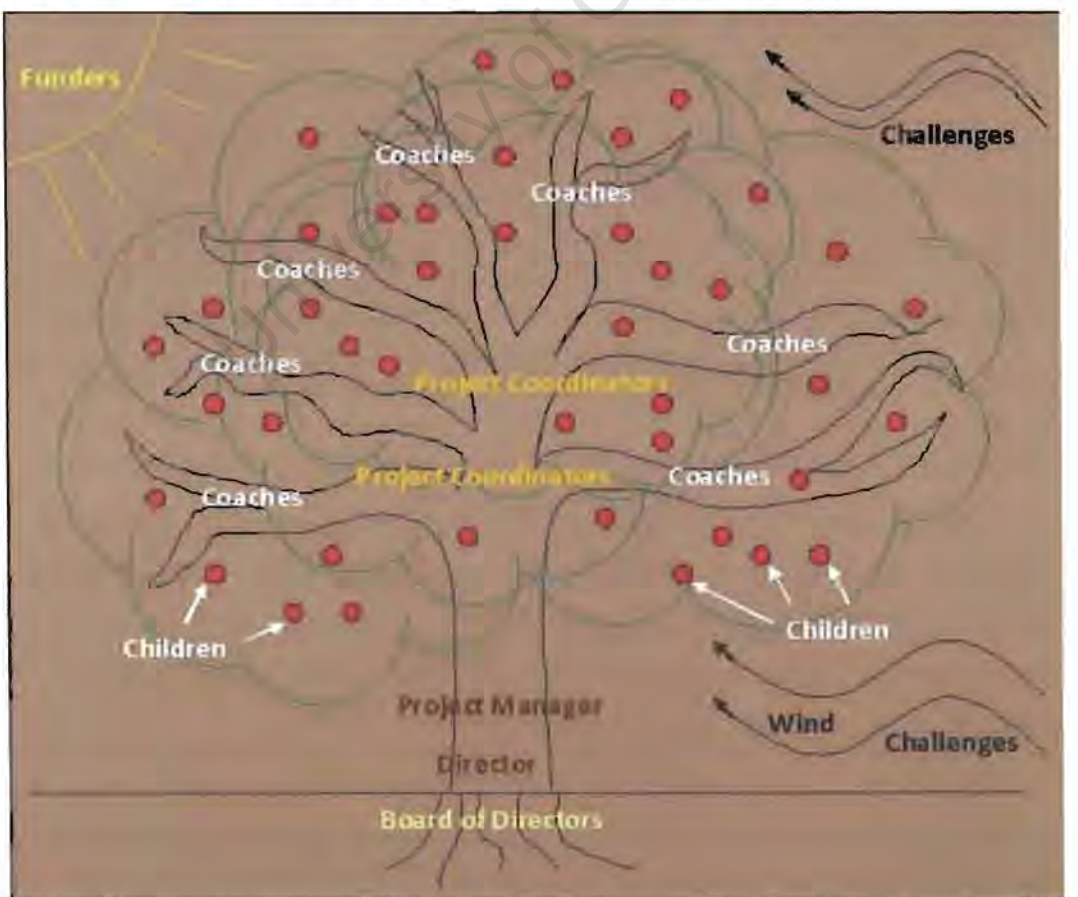

Figure 1: Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa organizational diagram as described by the Project Coordinators symbolizing a tree.

Another staff member compared this structure to other organizations:

> So this is the tree that we are working with. 'Cause other organizations they would have the CEOs on top of it, the one receiving everything, but in us, we exist because of the kids. That's why people are still keen in our program because they see our kids are happy (ibid).

This is indeed a beautiful picture and one that was referred to later into my fieldwork as well. However, a second structure was presented to visitors by management.

The management presented a more typical organizational structure (see figure 2) with the director on top, the project manager below him, the staff members below them and the volunteer coaches below that. Seems simple. The tree presents a somewhat more realistic picture of the complexities, perceived during fieldwork, relating to the flow of information and communication channels within the organization. Continuing the metaphor of the tree, one could say that the sap is the information that flows through the organization, carrying the nutrients the tree needs to survive. In either depiction, the sap or information would naturally or logically flow from one level to the next. However, in reality some levels are skipped in certain situations, and at other times the flow is restricted, or the information changed. These situations will be discussed in detail below and have a negative impact on the fruit of the program.

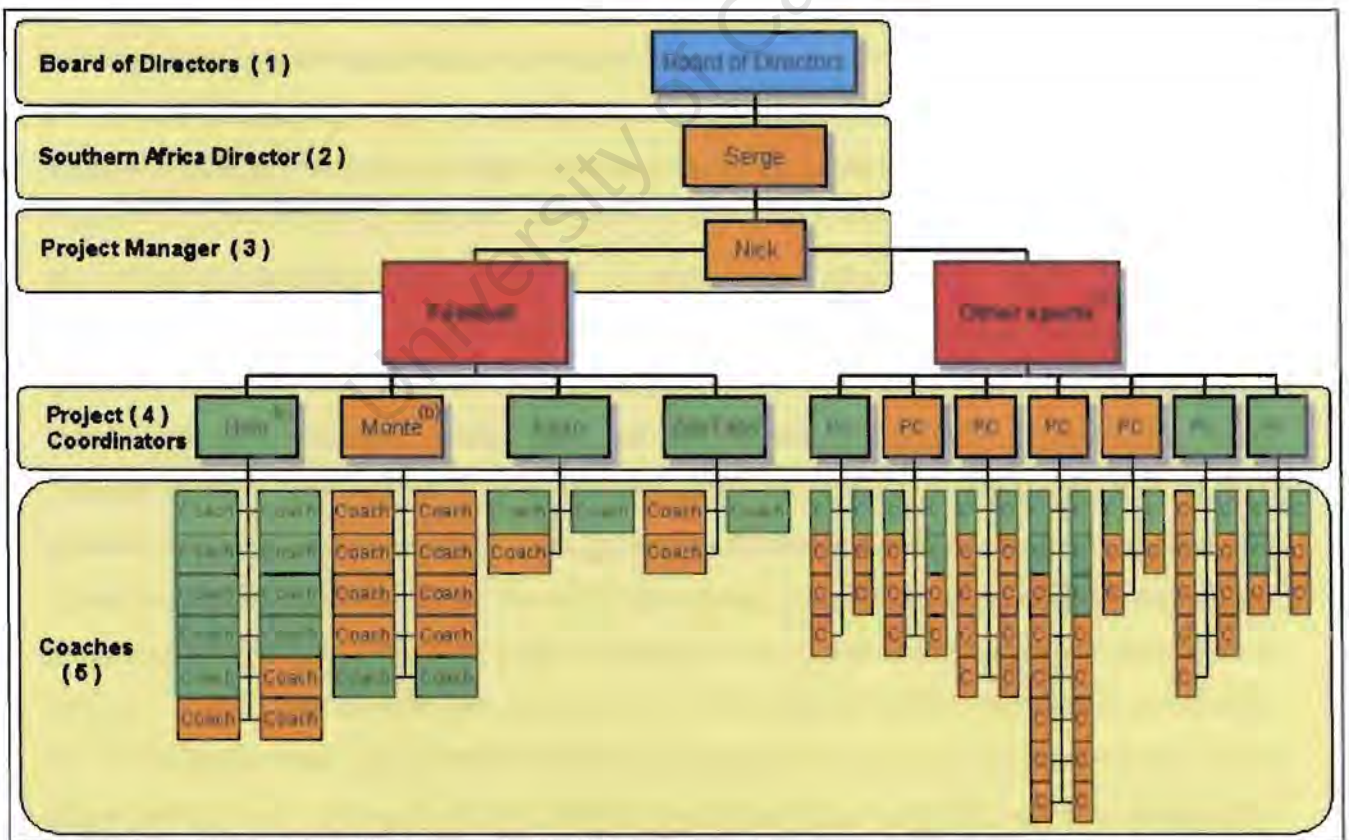

Figure 2: Sport FUNdamentals South Africa organizational diagram, women represented in green squares, men in orange squares.
Notes: (a) the other sports were not the focus of the fieldwork, however the interaction and relationship between the sections does impact the football division.
(b) See Figure 3 for the complexities of relationship between Nolo and Monte who hold positions with varying levels of authority.

Personnel

There are five main levels of personnel within the organization: (1) the board of volunteer directors, made up of six South Africans, help direct the organization and provide corporate fundraising assistance; (2) the Director and (3) the Project Manager, are salaried, work on site, and are responsible for overseeing the entire project, making sure everything from the finances to the reporting is done properly and promptly. The Director has greater responsibility and authority; (4) Project Coordinators, who receive a small stipend at the end of each month to cover their costs with a little extra, are directly responsible for the programs in a particular location and have three to sixteen coaches working under them to deliver the sport and life skills programs to the learners; (5) volunteer coaches deliver the programs in the schools. The Project Coordinators are not supposed to deliver the program in the schools or coach teams; however, in practice all do.

The coaches are usually high school students or recent graduates who do not yet have full time work. However, some are also sport assistants already paid by the state to provide sport and health education in the schools. The coaches are generally between sixteen and twenty-five years old, with a few older, whereas the Project Coordinators are mostly in their early twenties. The Project Manager is in his late twenties and the Director is in his late thirties. The Project Manager and the Director both have university degrees, whereas no Project Coordinators have post-secondary education. Most of the Project Coordinators are fluent Xhosa speakers, but not all were born in the Western Cape. The Director is an immigrant to South Africa from Central Africa and the Project Manager is the only person who would have been classified White under apartheid [see Appendix B for a staff demographic profile].

All the Project Coordinators and coaches live in the townships where the programs are delivered, whereas the Director and Project Manager live closer to downtown Cape Town. There is an increase of unpredictability that the coaches and Project Coordinators experience in the townships with lower incomes, higher unemployment rates, higher prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other health-related problems (Statistics South Africa, 2001). Loss of one or both parents and lack of finances means regular shifting of residence to ease the burden of care or reduce transportation costs (see also Ross, n.d.). When coaches move, they usually try to attend the same school, resulting in longer transportation times and greater difficulty in arriving to coach on time. Since these coaches are young with competing priorities for their time, there is a high turn-over and drop-out rate.

Four Project Coordinators cover the football division of SFSA, while seven others cover the other sports (see figure 2). However, there is further differentiation among the Project Coordinators, with three senior positions – Head Project Coordinator, Life Skills Coordinator and Sports Coordinator, all associated with additional responsibility and authority. The relationships between these positions are complicated and filled with tension as the three positions are filled by two people with changing

levels of authority (represented by + or - in figure 3) depending on the sphere of activity. The fact that Nolo is Head Project Coordinator over Monte, but beneath him in his role as Sports Coordinator reveals one of the causes for the interpersonal tensions described below.

The Head Project Coordinator is the main point of contact for external partners, which entails attending events held by other NGOs and introducing the program to potential partners, funders, or new schools. The Director delegates tasks, such as planning events, trainings, or outreach activities, through the Head Project Coordinator, who is then responsible for delegating specific tasks to the other Project Coordinators.

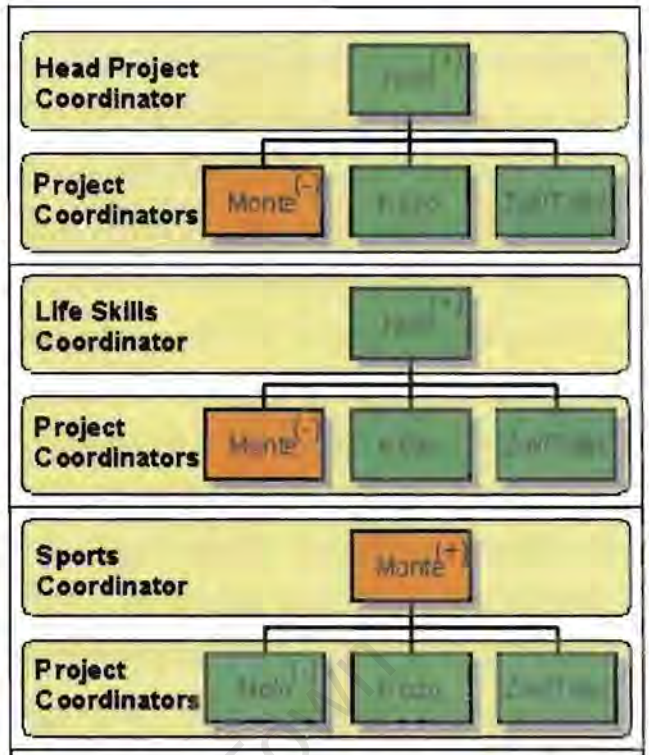

Figure 3: Senior Project Coordinators: Head Project Coordinator, Life Skills Coordinator and Sports Coordinator. Gendered organizational diagrams with men in orange squares and women in green squares. Relationships of authority are designated with + and -.

The Life Skills Coordinator is responsible for the set up and delivery of the life skills curriculum and the Sports Coordinator is responsible for over-seeing the running of the soccer leagues. Nolo was chosen as the Life Skills Coordinator since she was the most knowledgeable about the program and is considered a good organizer. She must ensure that each Project Coordinator has designed a plan for delivering the curriculum, follows this plan, and submits attendance sheets on a weekly basis. The Sports Coordinator has similar responsibilities, namely, ensuring that the soccer leagues are running smoothly, collecting the weekly game sheets and reporting to the Project Manager and the Director. Monte was chosen as Sports Coordinator, as he was the most knowledgeable about soccer and capable of organizing and running events. All the information is then compiled into regular reports for the Project Manager and Director. Before the Project Manager, Nick, joined the organization, monthly reports were submitted in writing. However, Nick did not find the reports useful and instead asked the Senior Project Coordinators to report to him verbally on a weekly basis and submit written reports at the end of the season.

There are three main aspects to the Senior Coordinator positions – ensuring the planning is done properly; ensuring the program is running smoothly; and reporting the progress, challenges, and successes to upper management. All these aspects involve communicating information, which also means that the Seniors have the authority to demand information from the other Project

Coordinators at various times, and to present it in various lights to the Project Manager and Director, themes I return to in chapter four.

Another category of people associated with the organization but not part of the official personnel, are international and local volunteers who come to the office for three days to six months at a time. They may be university students who require work experience or research material for their degrees, as in my case, or they may be high school students on a school break; they may be from within South Africa or from Canada, the USA or Europe. During my time with the organization sixteen such volunteers participated in the organization as a whole. Three local high school students came to the programs and part of the leadership camp and a group of nine people from California, USA, as well as an American high school student from New York were with the organization for a full three weeks in July. As I was leaving two students from another local university joined the organization for a three-month internship for their Sports Management degrees. These volunteers occupy various roles, from helping with fundraising initiatives, to assisting in coaching, to planning events or setting up specific research or evaluation programs. Just as the rest of the staff are important to the organization's functioning, these external volunteers are also vital in the growth of the tree. One might say they are like the fertilizer that adds the extra push to allow the plant to grow strong. The impact of external volunteers is not all positive, as they often result in more work and pressure for the All-Stars and MVPs who are asked to plan additional events, often at the last minute. This may result in a positive outcome when events are completed, however, when All-Stars are not able to organize an event or plans do not go as scheduled the volunteers are left disappointed, bored or under-utilized.

Individual Actors

Seven of the personnel described above are central, in different ways, to the organization's operation. Serge is one of the founders of SFSA and the regional Director for Southern Africa. He grew up in central Africa, played professional sport in the USA and started doing sport for development work in South Africa for a few years before meeting the other American founder of the organization. These two men founded the organization as a way to "give back to the community", an ironic statement by Serge since neither founder is South African. The Director began by organizing the programs himself, running the lessons and coaching teams in the communities, and has thus had significant experience working in townships around Cape Town. He knows what has worked for the organization in the past, and what has failed; he recognizes that circumstances in the townships are difficult, capricious, and full of challenges.

When external volunteers arrive, they are told by the Director to be ready to be challenged, and find a solution to solutions found as "something is likely to go wrong again". The Director does not want to address these problems himself; he wants the staff members to do it. But he also wants to

be informed of everything that is going on and believes that his approach to gleaning information is more effective than that of the other staff members. He told me that,

> I expect to hear everything that's not going well. Why? 'Cause as you can think of it, so we can make it turn better. ... It's very hard to make a successful program because you only get to know the information when it's already damage or it's already done. ... I get more information by myself than [the Life Skills Coordinators or the Project Manager] get (Interview, August 11, 2008).

How does he get this information? By "just asking, just hanging out, just, you know, talk differently than just the big boss. Then you get more information" (ibid.). The Director believes it is essential for his job to have all the relevant information about what is happening throughout the organization. He prides himself on being able to obtain more information than the other staff members, and due to his position of power and authority, he has access to important areas of information that the others do not have (Bourdieu, 1977; Goffman, 1959). He understands, as Gibson et al (2000) note, that having important and relevant information allows a person to make appropriate decisions, to find solutions and improve matters. Serge is right that having information before damage is done allows individuals to improve the situation. However, this is important for everyone in the organization, since the sooner information is transmitted at any level, the earlier the problems can be solved.

The Director is presently the only person in the office who knows the financial state of the organization. He keeps the annual calendar of events on his computer and is ultimately the one who makes decisions about promotions, trainings, or events, although the Board of Directors are structurally the ones with the final authority.

The Project Manager, Nick, by contrast, has been with the organization since March 2008. He grew up and completed all of his schooling in South Africa, including an education degree. A job with a sports event and tourism company brought Nick to Cape Town before he joined SFSA. He desires much more structure in his working environment, demonstrated by his drive for greater regulation in reporting, structure in evaluation and the desire to have a clear job description and contract, none of which he feels he currently has.

Nolo is the Head Project Coordinator for the football division of SFSA. She has been in the division since its beginning and is the longest serving Project Coordinator there. She joined to assist her cousin, the first football Project Coordinator, without prior coaching or facilitation experience. In fact, she did not even realize what she was being trained for until after her initial training on the bus ride home when the other coaches were discussing how many children they were would have in their programs. To which her response was: "' Whhaat?' ... I don't really get along with kids" (Interview, September 16, 2008). Eventually the job became enjoyable, even though she was the only one delivering the life skills in the schools. Shortly thereafter, her cousin found another job and, needing a replacement, asked her to start coming into the office. He then told her that he was leaving in a week

and she would have to run the program. Two other staff members had been trained with her but they were out of town or working, and since she knew the lessons best at that point, she was chosen to lead. She did not want the new responsibility and wanted them to choose Monte, another Project Coordinator, over her as he was more experienced with soccer. The Director, however, explained that Nolo was chosen as Head Project Coordinator due to her "rational" ability to solve problems in cooperation with others. Since beginning with SFSA, Nolo has attended one training course as a coach, and led three courses as a trainer. She also attended a local 'Train the Trainer' course, a 'Training of Master Trainers' course in Zambia and went on an educational exchange to the United States for three weeks to exchange information about the SFSA program. She is the best trained and most knowledgeable of the Project Coordinators, but not always the most vocal. In addition to being the Head Project Coordinator, she is also the Life Skills Coordinator.

Monte, on the other hand, is very vocal, enjoys being the centre of attention and commands a group of any age when delivering the life skills curriculum. He is energetic, fun and knowledgeable in terms of both the life skills and the soccer skills. He was introduced to SFSA in 2006 when the soccer team he was coaching was invited to a local tournament. A year later, the same team was invited to the football division launch, following which Monte attended a training to become a volunteer coach. At this time he was still moving back and forth to the West Coast, where he had a full time job, but when Nolo's cousin left, he was invited to become a Project Coordinator and accepted immediately. He received details of his job shortly after receiving his first tasks in planning the World AIDS Day program with Nolo. Monte has been playing soccer for as long as he can remember and has prior experience coaching both boys and girls. This football experience led to Monte being chosen as the Football Sport Coordinator.

Three other Project Coordinators are involved in the football division of SFSA, all female with some connection to Nolo. Zoli came into the program initially because Nolo needed someone to hold a class for her since she was running late. Nolo called her best friend from high school, Zoli, who used her past life skills training to entertain the children as they waited. When Nolo realized Zoli's capability, she immediately convinced Zoli to join the team. Zoli worked until July, when she had to leave and was then replaced by Tabs, Nolo's cousin. (The story of this replacement is elaborated in the following chapter.) Kozo is the final staff member, who joined as a volunteer coach through a friend early in 2008, she lives close to Nolo and they travel to work together regularly. She had no facilitation background, and had played soccer only "a bit" in high school. After her first training as a coach, she was quickly asked to become a staff member and train other coaches. None of these women received any training for becoming Project Coordinators; they had to rely on Nolo and Monte for direction on how to plan events, schedule matches, and lead their groups of coach volunteers. The lack of training was evident in their struggles to plan and lead effectively.

Individual Background and Context

As outlined above, the Director and Project Manager come from very different backgrounds, they also have different organizational approaches. Susan Wright (1994) discusses different types of 'culture' that influence how an organization works. The Director and Project Manager fit into the dichotomy she describes between a flexible organizational style and a Fordist management style. The Director desires a flexible organization, where the staff is organized in teams, and "workers are 'empowered' to take initiatives and ensure operations are continually improved by communicating ideas directly to management" (Wright, 1994: 2). This is demonstrated by his desire to allow the staff to solve problems, as well as in his desire for the staff to be creative and present their budgets independently without him providing a structure or a capped amount with which to work. The opposite of the flexible approach is Fordist management whereby the mission statement is converted to detailed practice through task division, specific training and supervision. In this approach, management personnel are separated from the workforce through well defined tasks (Wright, 1994:2). The Project Manager fits this type of management in his desire for structure, clear definition of tasks, improved training and direct supervision. The Fordist approach is also related to a Weberian model of "rational organizations" that uses a hierarchical system with clearly defined and specified roles separated by technical qualifications and promoted through a regulated system based on performance (Wright, 1994:17). Although this Fordist/Weberian model is not currently in place in SFSA, there is pressure from the Project Manager and the Board of Directors for change in this direction as SFSA work towards complying with NPO regulations to access additional funding.

External Context

Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa operates in a complex environment with a number of factors impacting on its ability to reach the organizational objectives. There are two main types of factors, logistical and personal. Major logistical difficulties include: access to venues and transportation; weather; and lack of funding, which leads to lack of resources such as sports equipment, materials for lessons and office equipment. Personal obstacles include volunteer inconsistency due to time constraints, prior commitments, and school hours; personal safety, especially when waiting for transport early in the winter mornings when it is still dark; and lack of cooperation from families, schools, and other influential community members.

The two biggest external obstacles affecting the program in 2008 were access to venues and changes in high school dismissal times. Soccer is usually played in the winter months, which corresponds in Cape Town to cold, wet and windy weather. As noted in chapter one, sports facilities are distributed disproportionately throughout South Africa due to the legacy of apartheid (Alegi, 2004; Mazwani, 2003; Merrett, 2006), resulting in the poorest facilities found in the townships. Monte's

program was affected to the greatest degree by the heavy rains that lasted throughout the winter, leaving the fields water-logged and unavailable. One of his schools had a newly renovated field that was most commonly used; however, it was far from half of the schools, thus extra transportation cost. Other fields in the area are under the control of the local Sports Councils, cost R27.50 per hour to rent and have to be booked through the Council. The weather and lack of access to venues caused many league games to be postponed and the league to run for longer than expected. The other Project Coordinators experienced similar problems in accessing fields. Most of Nolo's schools did not have soccer posts requiring them to use small portable goals, and have only seven players on the field. Monte objected to this as it was inconsistent with the other locations and, late in the season Nolo had to find a field with goal posts in her area. Tabs was fortunate to have three fields in her six schools that were located close together. However, one of these fields was filled with broken glass, a great risk when playing barefoot.

The change in dismissal time for the local high schools also affected all of the programs to different degrees. During the first semester the high schools were dismissed half an hour after the primary schools and the teachers were able to hold the children while they waited for the coaches to arrive. In the second semester the high schools extended their dismissal an extra hour, and most teachers were not able to hold the children for the extra sixty minutes. The coaches had great difficulty arriving to practices and games on time and often missed these altogether. Since the majority (75%) of the coaches were high school students, this change had a considerable effect on the second semester programs. Ideally, the coaches should operate in pairs with one coach not in school and therefore able to collect the children after school and wait with them until the other coach arrives, but this is not always possible.

The problems described here form the backdrop for the remainder of the thesis. The following chapters focus on interpersonal relationships within the organization and their partners and on how information flows or does not flow within the organizational structure.

Chapter 3 – Power, Procedures and Communication

Communication is vital to an organization. One could say it is the life blood of the structure, the key to success. However, communication, especially in organizations, is replete with complex power relations (Gibson et al, 2000). Power is exercised daily through various human interactions where people are working to accomplish their goals. Power is relational, strategic and establishes relationships (Foucault, 1980). It requires action, is used to achieve outcomes through other people, is influenced by structure and is interactive (Giddens, 1979). Power is distributed unequally in society, impacting individual choice and decision-making ability (Bourdieu, 1977). This is due to differences in resource allocation since, "[h]aving access to relevant and important information gives power. Information is the basis for making effective decisions. Thus, those who possess information needed to make optimal decisions have power" (Gibson et al, 2000: 254; see also Giddens, 1979; Goffman, 1959; Rogers, 1980). Such information is transmitted through communication channels and is vital for the functioning of any organization. This chapter examines how individual access to and control of information within SFSA's structures impacts individuals' abilities to make effective decisions. Individuals with greater access to information due to their position within a structure are able to negotiate and influence decisions made regarding both the structure and other individuals (Rogers, 1980). When individuals lack access to relevant information, they make ineffective decisions that affect the whole organization negatively.

This chapter is divided into three sections: 1) the intended procedures and information flows of the organization reveal the structure within which individuals operate; 2) when access to information is inhibited through unclear organizational structure, poor communication, last minute changes for events, or information manipulation, individual power to make effective decisions is curtailed; and 3) this negatively impacts the organization's desired outcomes to develop the staff and deliver influential life lessons. The situation is complex, with more than a single cause or single effect; there are many factors at play that prevent the staff from completing their set objectives fully. Chapter two concluded by highlighting some of the external factors that influence the SFSA programs; the remaining chapters examine internal factors impacting the organization.

Good Intentions: Procedures, in theory

In effective organizations information flows along designated paths set out in formal or informal procedures known by the members of the organization (Fielding, 1993; Gibson et al, 2000; Goffman, 1959). These procedures can be understood as the structure of the organization and the processes within which individuals operate. Giddens (1979) presents a theory of structuration describing the connection between structure and agency, similar to Long's (2001) actor-centred

approach. Structure is the medium and the outcome for social practices that create the structure and is not a form of domination but rather enables and constrains action (Giddens, 1979). Material and intellectual resources are used to exercise power; they are part of the social structure and are "reconstituted through their utilisation in social interactions" (Giddens, 1979: 92). SFSA desires to develop young leaders by giving them the resources and information to teach children sport and life skills. This development is intended to take place within a set of procedures. Although SFSA has been in operation for almost fifteen years, their small size has not required formal operations and human resource procedures. However, the organization has grown considerably in the past few years, especially since adding the football division. They are now in the process of aligning their structure with government NPO regulations to access additional funding. Both processes have meant that the organization needs to become more formalized structurally, a current aim of the Board of Directors.

In December each year the office staff convene to plan for the following year. The yearly schedule is then distributed at the beginning of the year, including timing for coach recruitment, tournaments, life skills lessons, and the soccer league. The plan is open to adjustment as new events arise, or to create excitement and retention of children in the program. There are currently no official guidelines describing the procedures for planning an event, training, or curriculum; however, there are expectations outlining when specific tasks should be completed. Ideally, the process would be: one month before a large event or training, for instance Women's Day or the soccer specific coach training, the task for planning the event is delegated by the Director to one of the Project Coordinators, usually Nolo, the Head Project Coordinator. Nolo then meets with all the Project Coordinators and allocates specific tasks to them. These include: organizing transport, a venue and food, planning an itinerary, liaising with schools, inviting guests and composing a press release. The individuals will complete their tasks and Nolo will put together a proposal including a thorough budget to be approved by the Project Manager two weeks before the event. The Project Manager gets final approval from the Director and notifies Nolo that she can proceed as planned or needs to make appropriate adjustments. This is rarely, if ever, the case.

Staff meetings are held on Monday mornings. This is the main location for the transfer of information, updates are given regarding the status of leagues and curriculum, events are delegated for planning, feedback is received on previous events, and reports are handed in. Prior to the start of the second semester the Life Skills Coordinators from SFSA met to decide which lessons would be completed during which weeks to ensure that all the schools followed the same schedule. During fieldwork this schedule was told to everyone at the Monday meeting on July 14. The individual Project Coordinators then had to create their own plan for their locations, ideally in conjunction with their coaches. These schedules had to include the life skills lessons, sports practices, league games and any trainings or events that were occurring in the coming two months. The league schedules had

to be approved by the Sports Coordinators and the entire schedule was to be given to Nick, the Project Manager by the following Monday.

Weekly registers were created to monitor the programs. These registration sheets needed to be completed for each practice or lesson and signed by a teacher at the school as well as the coach. The coaches were to hand the registries to their Project Coordinator during the weekly coach meeting. The Project Coordinators were in turn to give the registries to the Life Skills Coordinator who compiled the results. A computer program was supposed to be used so the Project Coordinators could fill in the information themselves, but that was not ready by the end of the semester. Team sheets were to be completed for every match and signed by the referee. These sheets were then to go to the Sports Coordinator, who compiled the results for each location.

From my discussions with the staff, it is clear that there is an ideal set of procedures regarding staff training, contracts and promotion. Once the voluntary coaches are recruited they should attend a training session to learn the life skills lessons as well as basic leadership skills; the training sessions should take place at the beginning of each semester; refresher lessons should be given to the coaches at meetings during the semester to remind them of the upcoming lessons, to resolve any misunderstandings, and to make sure lessons will be presented properly. The refreshers would also serve to inform coaches who miss training what they are expected to teach.

To ensure that lessons are being delivered according to the lesson plan and possibly for coaches to be promoted there should be a monitoring and evaluation system so that the Coordinators can receive feedback on their strengths and weaknesses and correct lessons delivery mistakes. Once these lessons are delivered well the coach can progress to a trainers training where they are taught how to train coaches to deliver the programs and will in turn monitor lessons.

If these structures and procedures were in place and working properly with effective communication and appropriate transfer of information between the various actors, there would be a greater probability for quality outcomes, idea generation and adaptation by the staff to changing external situations, as well as greater team cohesion, working together to meet the organizational objectives (Fielding, 1993). Instead, the communication channels are confused or blocked, changes occur at the last minute and there are tensions between team members that inhibit effective communication leading to unmet organizational objectives of developing young leaders and teaching effective life skills.

Interrupters and Inhibitors

Despite the best plans, the desired results for any intention are rarely realized. Hirschman (1977: 131 in Foucault, 1980: 247) states this succinctly: "There is no doubt that human actions and social decisions tend to have consequences that were entirely unintended at the outset". Foucault

(1980) uses the example of the prison not reforming criminals but professionalising them to explain how social policies fail to meet their desired objectives. The failure of SFSA to meet its objectives is of course not as severe as Foucault's prison. Yet of the 61 programs, meetings, interviews or events planned during the fieldwork period, only 30 (49%) happened as planned [see Table 1 for a breakdown of these numbers and Appendix A for a list of observed events scheduled and attended].

Table 1: Activity Table summarizing the observed activities scheduled and how they happened in reality.

Type of Activity	Number Scheduled	Did not happen	Happened as planned	Slight Change of Plans (started considerably late, interview moved to a different date)	Major change of plans (change locations, date, # schools)
PC Meetings	9	2	7	0	0
Coach Meetings	7	1	6	0	0
Programs (combo life skills and games or practices)	9	5	1	3	0
Events (trainings, special days)	10	0	3	4	3
Lessons	3	0	1	2	0
Practices	4	3	1	0	0
Games	1	0	0	1	0
Interviews	18	2	11	5	0
Total	**61**	**13**	**30**	**15**	**3**
Percentage of Total	**100%**	**21%**	**49%**	**25%**	**5%**

This section reveals some of the factors interrupting and inhibiting the communication within the organization. Communication channels between the Director, Project Manager and Project Coordinators are confused due to unclear expectations, deviations from the stated procedures and structures, last minute changes, and the withholding of information. These communication breakdowns lead to misunderstandings, confusion, gossip, and ultimately, ineffective programs.

Unclear expectations and organizational structure

Nick, the Project Manager, is frustrated with the current lack of information he has regarding budgets, the yearly plan, and his job description. This lack of information severely affects his ability to make effective decisions within the organization (Fielding, 1993; Gibson et al, 2000; Rogers, 1980). Six months after starting with SFSA, Nick still did not have an official job description, although he had a general idea of what his job entailed: managing program delivery, information processes and being the link between the Project Coordinators and Serge, the Director.

Nick is supposed to liaise between Serge and the Project Coordinators, to oversee and approve of the events and programs the Project Coordinators present to him. However, he does not

know the organizational plan nor the budgets for events. The following quote expresses his frustration regarding event budgets:

> I have no understanding of the financial situation whatsoever. And I've asked for it many times but never gotten any information. ... [Nolo] will come to me and give me a budget with her layout, polony and bread and transport and airtime and it comes to, like whatever, R3000, I say 'great, it's good', sign it off, but I don't have no idea. ... If I could see, actually the budget for that event is R2500, I would be able to say cut that off, cut that off. But I don't know what it is so I just say, 'that's great, do it!' And then it goes to [Serge] and he says 'oh no you can't do that it's way too much, cut, cut that'. I don't know! What am I working with? It's very frustrating (Interview, August 14, 2008).

He followed this up with the comment that the budget for an event "might as well go straight to him [Serge]. What's the point of it coming to me if I don't have that overview?" (Interview, August 14, 2008). If the information regarding specific budgetary constraints, or even the overview of the monthly or yearly budget, that the Director has in mind is not given to the Project Manager, the Project Manager has no power or ability to make an *informed* decision to approve the budget and therefore the plan for the event (Gibson et al, 2000; Rogers, 1980). He feels redundant when Serge overturns his decisions. Rather than reducing work and creating a smoother flow of information within the organization, as his job is intended to be, frustration and dissatisfaction result.

The same applies to the organizational plan; Nick has never seen a copy of the year plan, despite asking for it repeatedly. He stated:

> And that is also extremely frustrating, 'cause as well as the overall budget like I need to know what direction we are going in, where are we trying to go as an organization. Are we trying to double the number of [Project Coordinators] by 2010, are we trying to keep the same amount of [Project Coordinators] but strengthen the program, and look at the development of the program? Mass participation? I have no idea! What, where are we trying to go? (Project Manager interview, August 14, 2008).

Knowing these aims is important as an event focused on mass participation will have a much different structure than an event aimed at developing a certain sport skill. This in turn affects all aspects of the plan, from the budget to the transport, to venue booking and teacher involvement. Problems inevitably arise if the Project Manager understands the main objective of the organization to be completing the life skills lessons and approve budgets with that in mind, whereas the Director thinks that events and staff development are the organization's main objectives.

In addition to the ambiguity surrounding focus, yearly plans and budgets, the Director and Project Manager use different organizational approaches as described in chapter two. Serge, the Director, has a more flexible and open approach to managing, while Nick desires a more structured, Fordist approach (Wright, 1994). Serge believes a more flexible approach would better fit the daily instability of life the Project Coordinators experience. He wants to empower them through learning. He believes it would be too easy to find grounds to fire them if they had to abide by more rigid

guidelines. Nick, however, feels that if there was greater structure and the Project Coordinators were given sufficient training and support, there would be a higher retention rate of the current Project Coordinators and volunteer coaches. This view echoes Giddens' (1979) contention that the structure has the potential to enable and empower the staff.

The Board of Directors also want more structure in the organization as they align with NPO standards and appeal to corporate and international funders. Both the flexible and Fordist perspectives are valid and useful, but it should be remembered that although structure can enable, it can also constrain (Giddens, 1979). A Fordist approach may thus be too rigid to account for the unpredictability of living in the townships. Fiona Ross in her forthcoming ethnography *Upscaling The Flats* (n.d.) reveals the transitory and capricious nature of life in the Cape Flats, the location of most townships around Cape Town. She highlights the creative and innovative means by which people with limited access to resources are able to "make do and get by" (Ross, n.d: 77, 93). Can or should this flexibility be accommodated within a corporate or more structured organization that is composed of individuals from unpredictable life circumstances? SFSA needs to take these issues into account when creating their procedures to ensure the right balance between structure and flexibility.

It is evident that structure does not necessarily equate with constraint. Serge takes a view that systems of social relations (*structuring structures* according to Bourdieu (1977)) restrict choices of individual actors due to differences in power structures and distribution in society. Individuals can choose only within these limiting power structures and a taken for granted (*doxic*) universe of knowledge (Bourdieu, 1977). This approach seems over-deterministic, since structures can also be flexible and empowering. Although Giddens (1979) also argues that structures can restrict action, he shows that social practices create the structure and can be enabled through it. The Project Coordinators in SFSA are not just passive recipients of the programs; they actively create the conditions under which they operate, interacting with the structure and with people at different hierarchical levels (Long, 2001; Rossi, 2004). They were active participants in the organization strategy meetings, providing feedback to develop shape the life skills curriculum, and when they subvert or resist the set procedures they are also impacting on the program (though not always positively).

Confused communication channels and deviations from expected procedures were observed from the beginning of fieldwork when the Project Coordinators were planning for the leadership training camp. One Project Coordinator provided Nick with a list of ninety-eight coaches to attend the camp. Nick was shocked, as he had understood the camp to be for currently working coaches only. The Project Coordinator questioned this, claiming that Serge had told them the training was an opportunity for new coaches too (Field notes, June 25, 2008). In the end eighty-one coaches, including new coaches attended. Serge insists that these decisions are left in the hands of the Project

Coordinators. However, as an increase in numbers means an increase in cost, in the end it is Serge who will approve or reject the budget and therefore the number of coaches allowed on the training.

Nick recognizes the problem regarding his authority to make decisions and his loss of power in situations of uncertainty:

> If I make a decision, that decision is often over-ridden. ... the communication channels between me and [Serge] and the [Project Coordinators] are very confused, cause guys will come to me and ask for something and I'll say do this and they go to [Serge] and it will be a different response. So, that has to be cut out totally. If I'm going to manage it, you know, then I must be responsible for those decisions (Interview, August 14, 2008).

Communication between the various parts of the organization is thus very confused and the Project Coordinators use these discrepancies to negotiate the power structures, seeking support and authorization for their actions by going to the person they think will be more supportive of their idea or question, irrespective of that person's position (Barth 1966; Giddens, 1979). Conflicting instructions to Project Coordinators for the coach training is only one example of Serge overriding Nick's authority. During fieldwork I recorded three occasions where this occurred in relation to a variety of events and activities. Nick does not usually confront Serge directly, and when Nick did put his frustrations in reports, they were left unanswered. Communication in both directions is thus inadequate and has a negative effect on the smooth functioning of the organization.

The uncertainty around events planning is felt by the Project Coordinators. For instance, the example that introduced this thesis, the 'Best of the Community' tournament, brought much confusion and anger to the office. Initially only the top teams from the league were supposed to advance to the 'Best of the Best' tournament. However, two weeks before the 'Best of the Best' was to be played, the Director decided that each community needed to have a playoff competition in the form of 'Best of the Community' tournaments. Three communities were scheduled to play their 'Best of the Community' tournaments on Wednesday, and the fourth was scheduled for Thursday. I was in the office to review my notes with the Project Coordinators the following Friday. Monte, Sports Coordinator, was upset because on Thursday he asked for the results of the Wednesday games to set the fixtures for the 'Best of the Best' and he received only one result. He knew one community was scheduled for that day (although it was moved to Friday due to rain). He was never told that the plan had changed the day before and two of the communities were going to be combining their 'Best of Community' tournaments on Friday. This situation was read by Monte as the *women* changing the plans to exclude him deliberately, even though it was Serge who had made the change, one example affecting the relationship between Monte and the women, leading him to plan events and make decisions on his own.

Last Minute Changes

The last minute change of plans is a common occurrence, observed in four of the five events I witnessed being planned. The number of teams for the Women's Day tournament was cut from twenty-four to sixteen; two days before the soccer training the venue had to change; catering and venue for the leadership training was so uncertain that Serge threatened to cancel the whole training two days before it was to take place[10]; and the Best of Community tournament was changed on the day it was supposed to occur. These changes affect all aspects of planning, from venues to transport, to arrangements for the schools. The ensuing disappointment can also lead to mistrust when the coaches arrange with the schools for the children to attend a program, and then cancel at the last minute. One coach reported that he had to make sure his school went to the Women's Day tournament as he had already had to cancel an event the previous month and the girls were starting to question his reliability.

Some staff have a copy of a six-month plan, which should help them organize events. However, they don't follow it. Monte explained:

> "I mean you're planning on having something on the other day, then all of a sudden you are told you need to have an event here, then you break it because you have to accommodate this one. Yeah, man. And then another thing will go while you are still planning for that event, another will go cracking in between. Yebo. ... So you end up thinking, ok, now I don't know what to plan" (ibid).

Kozo echoed, "You have scheduled already your thing, and then you have to put something else, you have to reschedule everything. When you're starting to reschedule it something else comes so it doesn't cooperate with what you have planned for the year" (ibid). The rescheduling of events at the last minute is disruptive to the planning of the Project Coordinators, creating uncertainty and also leading to inefficient programming. Materials are not ready, lessons not prepared, transportation falls through and attendance is lacking, resulting in poor program implementation.

Withholding or Manipulating Information

The final information inhibitor discussed here is withholding or manipulating information that creates uncertainty and confusion in job promotion, team work and decision making. Tabs' promotion from coach to Assistant Project Coordinator highlights the problems of miscommunication through withholding information, as well as uncertainty in job positions due to the lack of a contract and clear job descriptions and expectations. During fieldwork Zoli, one of the female coordinators, notified the Director that she would be leaving, although she was not specific about her last day. She was then replaced by one of the senior volunteer coaches, Tabs, who was not Zoli's coach, but

[10] I thought this was an empty threat as I heard it echoed during the planning for all the events yet nothing was cancelled. However the Project Coordinators and Serge gave me two examples from the past year of cancelled events at the last minute due to problems in planning or the Project Coordinators being unprepared.

Monte's. The transition was very secretive with many staff members not knowing what was happening, but knowing that something was brewing. This is reflective of Goffman's (1959) study of personal interaction when he argues that information is controlled through 'secrets' that enable certain individuals to maintain their positions of power and authority, as Serge held the information and maintained his position of power.

Tabs started with SFSA in February 2008. On Freedom Day in April, Serge approached her and asked if she wanted to become a Project Coordinator but she declined. Two months later, the day before the leadership camp, Nolo, her cousin, asked if she had heard about being an assistant Project Coordinator as Serge would like her to join them in the office. Tabs said she had not, but would think about it. Two weeks later she started coming into the office and hanging around, but no one else in the office was told what was happening. In the middle of July, Tabs announced during Monte's weekly coach meeting that she was now the Project Coordinator replacing Zoli. There was still uncertainty about Tabs' position in the office: was she an assistant Project Coordinator or a full-fledged one? Serge was adamant that she was only a temporary assistant Project Coordinator. However, she had the full responsibility of a Project Coordinator in running the program in her location and called herself a Project Coordinator in front of teachers, headmasters and coaches. She was not given a job description, or a contract, or told anything about payment or reimbursement, but this did not bother her as she was doing the job for the love of coaching and teaching the children life skills. She was confident that even if she did not receive a stipend, her travel expenses would be covered. Her living expenses were covered by government grants for her two children and her younger teenage brother in her care.

Although Tabs did not feel equipped for her job as a Project Coordinator, and was unsure about office procedures, she did not believe there were communication problems in the office. However, lack of training and program uncertainty are problems of information transmission and communication. If adequate and appropriate information was being communicated and taught, Tabs would feel equipped for the job. She would then feel confident and would be more likely to work effectively within the organization (Rogers, 1980).

Monte, on the other hand, felt very strongly about the lack of communication in this situation and what he views as the wilful withholding of information from him. He found out about it only when Tabs started coming to the office without telling him. (The protocol is that coaches tell the Project Coordinators to make sure they apply for funds to reimburse travel expenses.) This was how Monte recounted the situation:

> Another that got me, my mind twisted already, was the fact that [Serge] himself, together with [Nolo], sat in the office. They decided to take *my* [coach] and be [a Project Coordinator], which is good. But why didn't they talk to me first, or why didn't they tell me, ... And now I'm thinking, ok, I'm being a fool around here, what's the use

> of being here if I'm going to be a fool? Yebo. And I spoke to [Nick], I'm getting frustrated. Cause now I'm losing one [coach]. And not even a proper plan, not even a single word is coming to [Monte], 'we took your [coach], thank you very much for keeping that [coach]. We took that [coach], she's now [a Project Coordinator], in the office' (Interview, July 30, 2008).

Monte was not angry that the coach he had developed and worked with was leaving, although that was a factor; his main complaint was that he had not been informed beforehand. He claims that neither Nick nor Zoli knew about the promotion either. Tabs did not even tell him herself, until the middle of the coach meeting, when Monte was trying to delegate responsibilities to his coaches. As we drove to his coach meeting, Monte told me that he had not realized how much effect Zoli's leaving was going to have on his program. Tabs was his most senior and reliable coach; her move was going to create a gap in his program, and meant he would either have to find a new coach or cover another school himself. The manner in which the news emerged in the coaches' meeting was also disruptive for Monte's group, as it demonstrated the lack of communication between Project Coordinators and undermined Monte's authority over the rest of the group.

This incident also affected Monte's relationships with the other Project Coordinators, as he became reluctant to cooperate with them in planning events and making decisions. Two examples, elaborated below, of the strained relationship were: an event to celebrate a corporate donation, and Kulani Primary School defaulting a quarter-final game on Women's Day. Monte made these decisions alone and was criticized after the fact by the other Project Coordinators. When confronted, Monte used both his position as Sports Coordinator and as the only male to justify his deviation from set procedures. Long (2001) and Mosse (2001) discuss how actors manipulate information and use their positions of power to garner support for their points of view. They also use their power to legitimate the decisions they make and negotiate within the structures they find themselves in. Monte did precisely that in justifying his decisions and actions.

The Director had asked Monte to plan an event in celebration of a corporate donation of three hundred size-three soccer balls, where the company would have an opportunity to give the balls to the community and see what SFSA does. Instead of delegating tasks to the female Project Coordinators as prescribed, Monte planned the entire event alone. He talked only to Nick, the Project Manager. He believed it was easier to do everything himself rather than rely on the others to find venues, produce the budget and book transport. This excluded the women - as he felt they were excluding him and he responded, "Exactly. Playing fire with fire" (Interview, July 30, 2008).

The event was successful in that it accomplished what it set out to do, namely, celebrate the donation. However, the girls and teachers were upset since the event started late, some schools were missing, and they spent a very short time (relative to the two hours of the event, only fifteen minutes) doing the soccer drills. The Project Coordinators and volunteer coaches were used to run the event,

although they were given their tasks only on arrival at the venue. This last minute delegation created much confusion and required improvisation for the soccer drills since some equipment was missing and drills had to be created on the spot. Despite the confusion, the event was completed and the company was satisfied - even if the players and some staff were not.

In the second situation, Monte used his position as Sports Coordinator to legitimize his decision that Kulani Primary had to default their quarter-final game during the Women's Day Tournament. Kulani arrived with too few girls to play and so illegally borrowed players from other teams. The teacher from the opposing team complained, the registers were examined and it was found that not all the players were from the correct school. The game could be played under protest. However, since the team with the borrowed players won, they still lost by default and could not proceed to the semi-finals. At the Monday meeting following the tournament, Tabs, the Project Coordinator for this school, complained that the school was not informed why they defaulted and she did not know the rules. She asked for better communication from the beginning regarding the rules. Monte retorted that these were basic rules of football not to be discussed at the Monday meeting and went on to address problems of teams not being ready to play their scheduled games (Meeting minutes, August 11, 2008).

Tabs' lack of expertise about soccer, and her deficient training as a new Project Coordinator, negatively affected her ability to make an informed decision regarding the team for which she was responsible (Gibson et al, 2000; Long, 2001; Mosse, 2001; Rogers, 1980). She did not have a sufficient 'information state' to correctly assess the risk to her teams, and therefore made a poor decision (Rogers, 1980). Monte, on the other hand, acted outside the procedural norms, but used his privileged access to information as Sports Coordinator and soccer player to exercise his authority on Women's Day, and in the following meeting. This legitimized his decisions and reinforced his positions of power within the organization (Foucault, 1980; Long, 2001; Mosse, 2001; Rogers, 1980). It also demonstrates how individuals use their positions of power to negotiate, manoeuvre within and reshape organizational structures as they pursue their own agendas (Giddens, 1979; Rossi, 2004).

In the Monday meeting Tabs also did not mention that her school lacked players due to last minute changes in the plans. There was a scramble at Tabs' schools as to which school would be attending, with the coaches running from one school to the next the Friday evening before the event. Manipulating or withholding information, even if subconsciously – as seen in Tab's promotion, Monte's presentation of his decisions, and Tabs' complaints regarding the Women's Day tournament – is used by individuals to legitimate and garner support for their points of view. Yet, this practice can have unintended, negative effects on individuals and on the overall organization.

Unintended Impacts of Inhibited Information Flows

Communication problems, conflicts of interest and deviations from set procedures or plans affect not only the individuals directly involved, but also the learners at the schools and therefore the organization as a whole.

The Project Coordinators' and Project Manager's uncertainty and insecurity about their jobs leads to second-guessing in decision making. Without the needed information they are incapable of calculating the risks associated with their decisions and therefore do not make effective choices (Rogers, 1980). Both Nick and Monte are frustrated with the lack of communication. Nick feels ineffectual, Monte feels he is being made to look like a 'fool', and Tabs is unable to do her job properly.

Monte had trouble during the remainder of the semester after Tabs left. Although her leaving was not the only cause, it certainly impacted his program severely. At the end of the semester, he had the lowest percentage and numbers of graduates from the life skills program, with only 41% of the children graduating (i.e., completing at least six of the ten lessons) with Tabs achieving a 63% graduation rate and the other two communities 81 and 88 per cent respectively. Other factors for these low numbers included poor venue access, water-logged fields, and the change in the high school dismissal time as discussed in chapter two. I cannot claim that Tabs' promotion was the sole or even main cause of the poor performance of Monte's location; however, together with poor communication, this disruption had a large impact on Monte's ability to run a successful program. He felt that the remaining coaches had a negative impression of his leadership abilities; he felt excluded from knowing vital information regarding his program, causing him to feel like 'a fool' and not being able to plan properly ahead of time. He therefore exercised agency, used the power and authority given to him to manoeuvre within the structure and not follow procedures directly.

It is not only staff who are affected negatively by uncertainty in job descriptions, miscommunication, and last minute changes to plans. Learners are also affected: they are not allowed to continue with games as in the Women's Day tournament; they left the donation celebration with unmet expectations; low graduation rates in some schools reveal the inability of coaches to manage their locations; and transport problems cause teams to miss events.

Last minute changes particularly affect logistical issues of transport when arranging schools' attendance. In the 'Best of the Community' event, two of the schools now required the SFSA vehicle as the new location was not in walking distance. Project Coordinators are supposed to arrange the vehicle two weeks in advance with Kwazi, the Logistics Manager. Although that rarely happens, when the event is planned only two days in advance it becomes nearly impossible. Kozo arranged with Kwazi for transport of the children to the 'Best of the Community' event. However, on the day it was difficult to locate Kwazi and he could not give a definite answer about fetching the team. Kozo then

had to try to arrange alternative modes of transport with the schools. She was successful with one school, but unsuccessful with the other, resulting in the tournament having only three participating schools instead of four, an unfortunate turn of events for the girls at the school that was left out.

These poor results in turn affect the organization as a whole. Poor communication or tensions between staff members push individuals to leave the organization and many volunteers do not return. This puts pressure on the remaining staff to either cover the empty positions or train new people to fill them. If the staff do not receive adequate training or the schools are not covered, the children do not receive sufficient training or life skills lessons. Nick recognized this 'ripple effect' and encouraged the Project Coordinators to ensure they completed their plans on time, insisting that their jobs could be at stake: "If this curriculum doesn't get delivered, these people won't be here next year. I'm serious" (Monday Meeting, July 14, 2008). Of course repeated incident of failed delivery could damage the organization's reputation and in the future, when regular funders are involved, funding would also be at stake. Funders are leery about financing a program that does not meet its set objectives. However, as discussed above, end results rarely meet expectations exactly (Ferguson, 1990; Foucault, 1980; Goffman, 1959). From my experience, this is something funders usually understand as long as the failures can be legitimately explained. Failure to explain or inadequate explanations, however, can result in cancelled funding.

Conclusion

Fortunately the schools and sport community also recognize the difficulties in running programs in Cape Town today. SFSA has lots of growth potential for the future. The five teachers I interviewed remained supportive of the program as the end of the second semester approached. Four desired greater communication with the Project Coordinator or coach at their school, but were satisfied overall with the program. So far, these communication barriers have not seriously affected the program at the school level. However, if the problems are not addressed, there could be severe consequences in the future, with the possibility of schools abandoning the program.

The situations described above demonstrate how access to and control of information by some individuals within organizational structures impacts others' power to act effectively. There is an ideal structure for procedures and communication flows within SFSA, but it is seldom adhered to. Information interrupters and inhibitors such as unclear expectations and organizational structure, last minute changes in events, and information manipulation or miscommunication have negative impacts on the organizers, the intended recipients of the programs, and therefore on the organization as a whole. Frustration, confusion and power struggles ensue, resulting in the inability of staff to access or utilize information to make effective decisions.

As in any development organization, SFSA desires to improve its program delivery. In order to do that, communication channels, organizational structure and procedures need to be much clearer. This is true at every level of the organization. Nodes of information and communication obstruction need to be identified in order to be reduced. This in turn should reduce both the inefficiencies and the levels of frustration experienced by staff. The next chapter analyzes one way in which Project Coordinators and coaches respond to the gaps between the 'ideal' procedures assumed to be known by all, and the realities they regularly experience.

Chapter 4: Self Preservation: Negotiating Power through 'paraffining' information

Paraffin is a common cooking fuel found in many poor South African households as an alternative to gas, coal, or electricity. Due to its flammable and poisonous nature, SFSA provide Paraffin Safety Training in their life skills lessons. Burns, fires and poisonings are unfortunate and common occurrences in the townships. A fire is especially destructive in the informal settlements where houses are made from wooden boards, newspaper wallpapers and corrugated iron. The houses are in close proximity and flames jump easily from shack to shack, setting whole blocks on fire in minutes. Ross (n.d.) talks of a particularly damaging fire that levelled her entire research community and during my sixteen months in Cape Town there were at least four ravaging fires leaving hundreds temporarily homeless until they could scrape together enough funds to start anew.

The 'paraffin' discussed in SFSA is derived from the Paraffin Safety Training, but refers to negative improvisation, falsification of information, or not doing a job to its full extent. It is also potentially dangerous and destructive, not of physical property, but of individuals' abilities to reach organizational objectives and goals together. I began to take note of the Project Coordinators using this intriguing term, 'paraffin', in the office after the launch for a new drug awareness program in the life skills curriculum. I am sure I had heard it before then, but it did not register as I was unfamiliar with the reference. This time it was repeated several times regarding the launch's poor execution. Thereafter I noticed the term being used to refer to other programs, trainings, reports, discussions, and the organization as a whole.

When I probed the term 'paraffin' I received various explanations ranging from outright lying, to simply not performing an activity to the fullest. My general impression when I noted staff using the term was in reference to improvisation during an event or training, generally with negative consequences. In regard to reporting, it was more serious, implying actual falsification of information, either after a game or lesson had occurred, or in place of an event actually occurring.

'Paraffining' of events, trainings, lessons, and reports is used as a method of negotiation and adaptation – even resistance – to the pressures of work. The Project Coordinators and coaches are responsible for planning, executing, and recording the successful completion of the events, lessons, and trainings delegated to them by the Director or Senior Coordinators. Accurate records are required detailing the number of children attending events, the lessons coaches deliver, and match results. Not only is this information used to ensure the program is running as planned, but also to plan further tournaments, life skills lessons, and to report to external funders. As Mosse (2001) noted, staff withhold or distort information to protect a positive perception of their professional capabilities. Staff do not want to be seen as incompetent or unable to perform their required duties, even when not given sufficient training, preparation time, or resources to complete the task properly. This

chapter examines the use of the term 'paraffin'; where it happens, why, and the impacts it has on the organization overall. 'Paraffining' is a common occurrence, a creative response to job pressures, and a demonstration of individual agency, negotiation and information protection within power structures. It is also potentially destructive if not kept under control.

What is 'paraffined'?

'Paraffining' has become a particularly pervasive practice in SFSA, utilized in relation to trainings, lesson delivery, events, and reports of events. As mentioned above, the first event where I noticed the term 'paraffin' being used was the launch of a drug awareness program where various schools were invited to a demonstration of some of the current life skills lessons that SFSA presents. Staff were told their duties on the morning of the event; earlier notice than three of the four other events I witnessed where Project Coordinators and coaches were briefed for their tasks only when they arrived at the venue. The event was scheduled to start at one, but the Project Coordinators were transported to the event at 1:45, and even then some schools had not yet arrived. Due to the late start only two of the three rotations occurred, and the schools that arrived on time had to leave early, further disrupting the activities.

Even in the actual delivery of the activities, there was a lot of improvising or 'paraffining' as the staff were not familiar with the activity or did not have the proper materials. For instance, one activity discussing life pressures and the importance of making good decisions requires tennis balls with words written on them in different colours. However since planning took place at the last minute they realized at the venue that no one had brought tennis balls. Instead they used apples that could not be written on. The message was still delivered but not as effectively as intended. For another activity, the leader kept fumbling over the order of the activity and had to look to me for assistance; as I had only glanced at the lessons I could not offer much support.

On returning to the office, two of the staff kept repeating how the event had failed as there was a lot of 'paraffining' happening by the leaders of the activities, who, they claimed, did not know what they were doing. The staff had an ideal in mind of what the event should have looked like, yet needed to justify the reasons they felt the event did not meet those expectations (Giddens, 1979). There was no follow-up or debriefing meeting for this event, as is often the case, where impediments to completing the task can be discussed. However, I never heard 'paraffining' discussed when a supervisor was present. When problems are reported on paper, they are generally not followed-up or fixed.

'Paraffining' also takes place in the life skills lessons. In one meeting, Nolo accused the other Project Coordinators of 'paraffining'. She claimed the Project Coordinators and coaches came to her one day and complained that they did not have the proper materials for completing the lessons;

nevertheless, the following day, the same Project Coordinators and coaches reported that the lesson had been completed. Nolo concluded that the lesson could not have been completed as required without the right materials and stated: "Therefore, there was paraffining" (Meeting, August 11, 2008).

I witnessed one such lesson when the Project Coordinator did not have the paper and pens necessary to complete the lesson and re-structured it so that paper and pens were not needed. I thought this a successful solution to achieve the overall aims of that activity, as it maintained the key messages. Another activity 'paraffined' with improvised material on the same day was completely unsuccessful in my view, as the key message in the lesson required tennis balls that could be thrown across a circle. However, all that could be found was winter hats and gloves rolled into a ball, which came undone, were completely ineffective and the key message was lost in the mess.

At one coach meeting I attended, there was only one week left until all the lessons were supposed to be completed and many of the schools were behind schedule. The Project Coordinator told the coaches they needed to finish that week: "Even if you paraffin. Paraffin or no paraffin, you need to finish" (Coach meeting, August 8, 2008). Thus, with time pressures and lack of materials, Project Coordinators were both 'paraffining' and encouraging their coaches to do the same.

In the case above where Nolo accused the other staff of 'paraffining', this was carried over into the reporting. It was not only a matter of a lack of materials that allowed her to know when paraffining was taking place, but also from observation: when the Project Coordinator stayed in the office until two, and the learners were dismissed from school at one it was not possible for the Project Coordinator to deliver the lesson at the school. However, when it was reported that lessons were completed for that day, Nolo responded: "It is obvious that you are paraffining me" (Meeting Minutes, August 11, 2008). During my interview with Nolo, she was leery about the staff completing their reports through a new online system, despite the work that it would save her, as she explained, "For one, 'paraffin' comes in right there. For instance, I'm going to fill in my schools, everybody is going to do every activity, every day they're going to do activities" (interview, September 16, 2008). She is convinced that the Project Coordinators would lie and say that all the learners completed all the activities, even if that would not be what actually happened.

The position of authority of the Life Skills and Sports Coordinators allows them to demand certain information at particular times. During my review session with the Project Coordinators a discussion came about regarding the Sports Coordinator and his demanding of the game sheets. These sheets not only needed to be handed in, but they also had to be filled out correctly. Monte commented on how he knew that the sheets had been 'paraffined', completed **after** the game, when it was the staff who was signing it (it was supposed to be the referee), and when there were the same players' names on both the starting line-up and the substitution list, and those on the substitution list were the ones that scored. Kozo explained how strict Monte was about this particular task; she

experienced his wrath when she did not have the sheet properly filled out after a game was completed. Monte maintained that without the sheet it was as if the game never happened, and therefore in order for the affected teams to get their points for their win they would have to play again. In that instance Kozo had to reschedule the game and make sure the proper documentation was filled out. Afterwards, she was more diligent in filling out the reports timeously.

The history of 'paraffining' can be traced back to when the lessons were first taught at the leadership camp in July. Nolo insisted that the coaches were first 'paraffined' when they were trained. The majority of the staff leading the teaching sessions had never seen the lessons and indeed read the lesson only five minutes before presenting it to the coaches. The manual they were given was more difficult to understand than previous manuals, which led each person to create the lesson for themselves, a form of 'paraffining'. Despite this partial training the coaches were still expected not to 'paraffin' when they delivered the lessons. At a meeting where the staff were lamenting this lack of training, one person claimed, "Everything we do is paraffining ... we should call ourselves 'Paraffin FUNdamentals'" (Minutes, August 11, 2008).

The transmission of accurate information is crucial for any organization; however, in SFSA there are many instances where 'paraffined' information comes through instead. Although the intentions may be positive and key messages can still filter through, essential information is often lost. Senior Project Coordinators are alert to potential falsification of reports, but due to time constraints cannot monitor all actions and must trust that Project Coordinators are completing reports truthfully.

Why do staff feel the need to 'paraffin'?

Development organizations are locations for the production and control of knowledge. This serves the interests of particular actors as it legitimates certain actions and structures (Mosse, 2001). Mosse (2001) discusses how management and field staff desire to control information to protect themselves and their goals, to present their own work in a positive manner, to support the views and desires of community members, and to conceal poor performances. This means that staff

> often systematically withhold or distort information from senior executives and conceal poor performances. ... In short, information gets lodged in different parts of an organization, its flow is controlled, guarded, and restricted by individuals holding conflicting priorities. ... is often very clearly a private good, part of an actor's private endowment and a source or instrument of power in negotiating one's position in organizations (Mosse, 2001: 177).

There is always potential for conflict of interest at the various interfaces and interactions between actors looking to produce and exchange information. Whether in producing schedules and plans, or in the maintenance of these plans, or in the reporting of how the plans are progressing, information is controlled, guarded, restricted and demanded.

As shown, 'paraffining' is evident throughout the organization, from coach training, to lesson delivery in schools and at events, as well as in the reports. This multifaceted problem results directly from the pressures to perform the job properly, or to make it look as if the job was performed properly, and can be traced to the inadequate training for staff and coaches, insufficient materials and poor communication. As discussed in chapter three, the staff have in mind the 'ideal procedures'. However, due to what Giddens (1979) calls, 'unacknowledged conditions of action', the circumstances the Project Coordinators and coaches find themselves in render them unable to attain those expectations. The main issues discussed previously are lack of clarity regarding expectations, withholding information, miscommunication, and last minute changes to plans, which make the ideals rarely the reality. However, since staff realize the importance of the perceived realisation of those expectations or ideals – as well as the potential threat to their jobs if they fail - the need to 'paraffin' arises. The actors then negotiate and act within the organizational structures to maximize a positive image for themselves (Barth, 1966). 'Paraffining' thus demonstrates Gidden's (1979) theory of 'structuration' as individuals exercise agency within the structure (Goffman, 1959; Long, 2001).

Wolf (2002: 230) argues that, "Power is implicated in meaning through its role in upholding one version of significance as true, fruitful, or beautiful, against other possibilities that may threaten truth, fruitfulness or beauty". As the staff 'paraffin' they are using individual power to uphold the version of truth that they understand the organization to desire, as communicated to them by their superiors and peers. As 'paraffining' is a version of fabrication, it can be seen as a method for projecting false images of competency, a strategy of influence which includes "innuendo, strategic ambiguity, crucial omissions, lies and impersonations" (Rogers, 1980: 107).

Individuals constantly monitor themselves in relation to the tensions in their environment, and give reasons for their conduct in relation to these tensions. This is normal behaviour for individuals as competent social actors (Giddens, 1979). Besides the admission that the leadership training was 'paraffined', the staff never admit straightforwardly that they themselves 'paraffin'; rather, they accuse each other of 'paraffining'. They justify their actions due to lack of sufficient training and materials, short time notice for events, and a condensed time period for completing the lessons due to weather constraints.

The issue of inadequate training and communication begins at the Senior Project Coordinator level. The Project Coordinators acknowledge that the training given coaches (in the above example) was insufficient and improper but excuse themselves on the grounds that they were given only five minutes to prepare. In other words, the Project Coordinators need to be adequately trained to train.

Nick and Serge's responses to the issue of 'paraffining' are reflexive of their different organizational approaches. Nick equates the problem with lack of training structure where Project Coordinators are expected to train coaches in curricula that they have not themselves delivered,

resulting in a 'weak' program. In response, he proposed to the Board of Directors a regulated system based on performance for training and promotion (Wright, 1994:17). Although Project Coordinators concur regarding the need for monitoring and evaluation, designing and implementing such changes takes time.

On the other hand, Serge lauds this improvisation as a positive and creative response by the Project Coordinators to the daily problems they encounter. This is a form of empowerment and place for the Project Coordinators to find their own solutions to problems and therefore Serge is reluctant to intervene (Wright, 1994). There are elements of truth in both perspectives. Improvisation and adaptation of given materials to local situations empowers individuals and makes the program more relevant. This requires clear communication between levels of the organization and a supportive structure allowing Project Coordinators to discuss the issues, and have the authorization and means to make the necessary adjustments. Training Project Coordinators to evaluate their programs and make appropriate changes does empower individuals and is an effective means of sustainable development (Burnett, 2008). However, if the 'paraffining' is done individually and inconsistently, resulting in accusations and blame-shifting, the root of the matter is left unresolved.

I understand this to be a coping strategy, one that is creative and interactive, but problematic. Although 'paraffining' fits the needs of individuals to present themselves as able to perform their jobs properly (Long, 2001), it has negative consequences for the learners, the Project Coordinators and the whole organization. Long (2001) argues that actors within development interventions are not passive recipients of programs but are, rather, part of the program, deciding what and how to integrate the intervention in their own lives and in turn reshaping the intervention to suit their own needs or social situation. This usually refers to the recipients of the intervention, in this case, the school girls within the SFSA program. However, as the mission of SFSA is also to shape and develop young leaders, the Project Coordinators and coaches can be considered both, 'recipients' of the program and part of the intervention delivery, causing them to both impact and be impacted by the processes.

Impact of 'Paraffining'

It is difficult to identify and measure the full effects of 'paraffining' on either the internal or outreach aspects of SFSA's programs within the scope of this study. Each instance would need to be identified and its consequences carefully traced, which was not possible within the limits of the research period. However, that 'paraffining' is self-perpetuating is demonstrated through poor training at the training camp leading to poor delivery of the lessons by those trained at that camp. Just as liquid paraffin is slippery, so does the fabrication of false impressions create a slippery slope leading to increased fabrication to maintain the façade. The Project Coordinators "enliven their manner with movements which express proficiency and integrity, but whatever this manner conveys

about them, often its major purpose is to establish a favourable definition of their service or product" (Goffman, 1959: 83). This has a cumulative effect, as the team members work together – often subconsciously – to maintain a positive impression before their 'audience' as Goffman (1959) calls those with whom the actors are interacting. The audience in the case of the Project Coordinators includes the coaches, the children and teachers, as well as those receiving the reports, the Project Manager, Director and funders. The Project Coordinators aim to present themselves with integrity, as proficient, while at the same time they present a façade. Team-mates demonstrate solidarity by protecting the integrity of each other in the presence of subordinates or superordinates. They generally do not highlight a mistake another makes in the presence of these 'audiences' (Goffman, 1959: 94, 95).

The Project Coordinators are thus not passive in the development process; they decide daily how to interact with the project, reshaping the lessons to suit the time or materials available (Long, 2001). This could have a positive effect **IF** the improvisation or 'paraffining' still results in the essential messages being conveyed and the lesson adapted for situations where those materials are not available. However, the result is more often problematic, resulting in negative effects: full lessons are not received and partial lessons are passed from staff to coaches during trainings or from coaches to children at the schools. 'Paraffining' also has a negative effect on both the success of events and reporting of events. The first undermines the organization's reputation in the eyes of event participants; the second potentially undermines the organization's credibility in the eyes of funders.

As the trainings are 'paraffined', those receiving the trainings are unable to fulfil their job descriptions, which in turn affects the delivery of the programs and the information the children receive. More qualitative and quantitative research is required to reveal the impact of the life skills lessons on the lives of the children, including the impact of poorly delivered lessons. SFSA only calculated the number of learners in the classes, not how much information individual learners retained. A post-survey to test the material learned was supposed to take place, but at the end of the term the Project Coordinators realized that the survey was based on lessons not covered and could therefore not be administered.

When lessons or game sheets are 'paraffined' to the extent that the Senior Coordinators do not accept the reports, this results in disappointed learners and coaches who either have to replay matches or accept a lower position in the log. This can also lead to certain children not graduating. Although it is difficult to pin-point 'paraffining' as the direct cause, I believe it must be an influencing factor. Falsification of information on reports also leads to distrust between Project Coordinators who then doubt the information they are given. As Nolo indicated, she prefers the current system where she does more work, as she fears information would be 'paraffined', recorded falsely if Project Coordinators entered their own data into a computer database.

If teachers or parents feel that incorrect or harmful information is reaching the learners, they could stop learner participation or not allow the program to continue. If 'paraffining' continues in the reports to funders or government in the future and is discovered, financial support for the organization may be in jeopardy. Once more structure is in place in SFSA and guidelines monitored, individual jobs may be at risk if someone is considered to be doing too much 'paraffining', or, depending on the contract or code of conduct, if they are caught 'paraffining' at all, it may be grounds for dismissal. Despite 'paraffining' being a creative coping mechanism and 'survival strategy' for individuals within SFSA, and just as actual paraffin is potentially dangerous and lethal if not kept under control, paraffin can have detrimental repercussions for individuals or the organization as a whole.

Conclusion

Individuals presenting information about themselves and their professional achievements in a manner that implies they are in control and performing their tasks legitimately and proficiently is a common occurrence in organizations. Self-monitoring and realization when external expectations are not met, and giving reasons for not meeting these expectations is something Giddens (1979) considers to be normal behaviour for competent social actors. It is also common to find individuals creating false impressions to portray their work or the organization they represent in a favourable light. In SFSA this falsification of information has been termed 'paraffining' and occurs to some degree in every type of activity. 'Paraffining' in SFSA is used as a method of negotiation and adaptation to the pressures of work where staff withhold or distort information to create a positive impression of their professional capabilities. Information is altered by both Project Coordinators and coaches within their given structures, as they do not want to be seen as incompetent or unable to perform their required duties, even when there are valid reasons for not doing so.

In SFSA there is a continuum of 'paraffining' from a positive improvisation of lessons to negative falsification of reports. In response to lack of materials or preparation time, life skills lessons can be positively 'paraffined' if the key messages are kept through creative adaptations. This requires a high level of familiarity with the lessons, gained only through sufficient training. Thus if key messages are not taught, the improvisation has a negative impact. At the other end of the spectrum, Project Coordinators work to maintain a façade of competence, they give false reports which can eventually lead to the withdrawal of school support or funding.

Understanding these complex power dynamics and the reasons the staff feel the need to 'paraffin' their lessons, trainings, and reports, can provide the basis for improving training, monitoring and communication at all levels, so that staff develop greater confidence in their capacity to fulfil their job expectations as required and programs can be delivered and reported on more effectively.

Chapter 5: Confronting Gender and Power Structures through New Information

> In the process of obtaining a venue for Women's Day, Nolo and Kozo were invited to a Sports Council Meeting. After introducing SFSA to the Council, consisting of thirteen men and one woman, Nolo and Kozo were interrogated as to how they, as young girls without soccer experience could run and coach soccer programs. Nolo relayed how the cross-questions came like bullets: "they were trying so hard to confuse you that you can just miss this one point and then you're down on a roll". After the meeting the two women burst into tears, comforting each other with: "I'm just so happy that I survived it" and "That was hardest meeting I've ever attended" (Interview, Nolo, September 16, 2008).

This is just one example of the first hand discrimination the female Project Coordinators and coaches face. Female coordinators face similar attitudes at the office, in the schools, in their families and in the community as men doubt the women's ability to run a soccer program without playing soccer. In her career with SFSA, Nolo has introduced the program to eight schools, where she projects such confidence in her presentations that no school has refused to run the program. When she and the other women demonstrate that they know the program and that it focuses not only on soccer skills, but mainly on life skills, then the schools accept the program, even with their prior reservations.

Just as gains are being made in the political sphere regarding women's participation, representation and positive outcomes (Gouws, 2005; Govender, 2005; Hassim, 2005; van der Westhuizen, 2005), SFSA aims to challenge the attitudes and stereotypes that believe soccer is not for women. There is a lot of pride in men's soccer, yet men are beginning to concede that females demonstrate technical skill and the ability to play. As people are exposed to talented female soccer players through media coverage of international events, observing local games, or direct physical contact on the playing field, their perception that "girls can't play soccer" is slowly changing. The men move from being incredulous to accepting women participants, and even to defending women's abilities when challenged by other men. As Cynthia Pelak (2005: 66) argues, women in the Western Cape are challenging "men's privileged gender status" and the historical gender boundaries in South African football as they gain skills to play and coach, and participation levels increase. Change is not happening quickly in the Western Cape, but it is beginning.

There is potential for SFSA to challenge gender norms in South African football. However, the structural and procedural problems described in the past two chapters along with restricted information flows impede the full impact of these goals. 'Paraffining' does not always happen and information does get through the confused channels, power dynamics, and problematic management structure. New information and skills gained through the program legitimize women's positions of authority as they are given the opportunity to make informed decisions as soccer coaches and players. By examining the position of Head Project Coordinator held by a woman, as well as the responses by teachers, families and community members to female coaches and players, this chapter reveals glimmers of hope and progress that are possible when information is transmitted.

Despite frustrations and anger that arise from the internal logistical shortfalls, lack of material support, ambiguous and easily changed directions, Nolo is an example of SFSA meeting one goal. She has received considerably more training than the others and her location is noticeably different in terms of higher graduation rates, increased satisfaction and retention of coaches and support from teachers and community members. She gains confidence from her experience in the workplace and by overcoming gender discrimination.

As discussed earlier, soccer is considered a bastion of male authority and domination, seen through men's control of decision-making positions in soccer organizations and the small number of female administrators. There are no published data on specific numbers of administrators, however within SAFA Cape Town women are found predominantly in the office or on the Women's Committee. Within the 2008 SAFA Cape Town women's league, only two out of twenty teams have female coaches. In response to this disparity, SFSA focuses on the most disadvantaged in the soccer world – young black women – and chose such a woman to head the football division, promoting equality and female emancipation. The Director believes it important to have women in the organization despite the many challenges they face: discrimination and lack of cooperation both from within the organization, and from the teachers or community. He explained:

> I think they [women] bring a different side to the program. They bring a side of people that are prepared to resolve the challenges, that are prepared to talk about the challenges - in a bunch of men that are very impatient, that are a bit more ego-centric. So it brings a lot into a society of people that don't necessarily believe on being on the same level as women. Don't believe on the emancipation of women. South African men don't believe. Men in a lot of parts of Africa have already grant that emancipation, ... You see that every time we have an event ... we have a lot of challenges, of receiving orders and doing things, when it's a woman running that event (Interview, August 11, 2008).

Although I disagree that men in other African countries have granted women emancipation and South African men have not, there is nevertheless need for this emancipation to be promoted more actively as SFSA is doing. A primary means of empowerment is through "communicative actions such as decision-making, negotiation, and dialogue" (Papa et al, 2000: 92). In dialogue and interaction with the new information and skills that SFSA aims to provide, women and girls have the potential to resist the male hegemony in South African football. Papa et al (2000) also describe how empowerment is intrinsically linked with issues of power and resistance, as the Director recognizes, where in the process of challenging gender norms the young female coordinators will face problems.

One of the problems and areas of resistance is in office gender relations. Monte, in particular, has difficulty taking directions from a woman. Most people think that he is the Head of the football division rather than Nolo, as he is loud and boisterous, and usually takes charge at the major events. Nolo does not mind and allows Monte to take control as she prefers to organize behind the scenes

rather than in front of people. Nolo also suspects that Monte may feel self-conscious about how he is viewed by the other men in the office, as the male staff from the other sport divisions tease him that he is the only male among females when the male is supposed to be the head of the family. Nolo's response to that argument is: "This is not 'the man is the head', this is not the house! It's office work, man is the head, man is no head, it's the same. The woman is the head (laughs)" (Interview, September 16, 2008). Nolo's success challenges the stereotype that authority at home and in the office belongs only to men.

This office conflict is perceived by Monte as a gender issue, but the women do not believe the conflict is based on gender, but rather on the closeness of the relationships between the women. Since the women have relationships outside the office, they discuss office work outside the office and thus acquire knowledge Monte does not have. This information can include ideas for future events, details of events that are being planned, or changes that have been made to current plans. Nolo gives the example of running a girls league:

> Maybe if I'm thinking of running a girls league for example, ... in the morning, when [Kozo] is here, we train together, we wake up and ... we go to the train ... so obviously the first person that's going to know is [Kozo], ... and then we get to the office and [Kozo] gets excited and tells [Tabs] cause it's like, it's kind of like the girls gossip, and then when it gets to [Monte] it's like we have sidelined him (Interview, September 16, 2008).

Sometimes the women assume that Monte has received the information and do not tell him about a change of events. This is not always done consciously and deliberately, however; since the issue has been discussed the women feel that everyone knows what is happening, although Monte was not in the vicinity of the conversation and therefore did not receive the needed information.

This 'gossip', like conflict, can also have both positive and negative effects (Ross, n.d.). It can foster relationships and productive decisions, as seen among the three female staff, or it can have a negative effect as rumours are spread, some people excluded, or their reputations tarnished, as in Monte's case. Information is like a current, flowing along the path of least resistance (Hutchins, 1996 in Turnbull, 2008). This means that it will flow easily through paths of familiarity, but where relationships are already strained, the information flow is constricted, resulting in further interpersonal complications.

When Nolo receives privileged information through trainings and 'gossip' and presents this to the schools, coaches, sports councils or learners with confidence, she is representing herself and SFSA in a positive light, challenging gender norms and fulfilling her job duties. However, gender discrimination, control of information by others at certain nodes of interaction, changing plans last minute and uncertainty in expectations, results in plans not being completed, strained relationships and frustrated individuals, as well as disappointed soccer players.

The Coaches

Coaches are the main point of contact and information transfer between the organization on the one hand and the schools, players, families and community on the other as they run the life skills lessons, soccer practices and games in the schools. Gibson et al (2000) reveal the importance of having information in order to make effective decisions and maintain positions of power. In my initial meeting with SFSA, one of the challenges raised was the fact that none of the female Project Coordinators and few female coaches had a background in soccer. The male Sports Coordinator, Monte, was responsible for helping the women learn as they go. As described earlier, when Kozo did not know how to fill out the game sheets properly or Tabs did not know the rules regarding defaults, Monte had to demonstrate and teach the women, often repeating himself numerous times, frustrating all parties involved. This gap in the women's knowledge combined with Monte's resentments as shown, leads to poor planning, misunderstandings and disappointments. However, as the women learn the rules of the game and the skills required to coach, they gain confidence and legitimacy as coaches.

To combat the lack of information and skills, SFSA provided a five-day soccer specific coaching clinic for the coaches in July 2008. Throughout the training, I could see the confidence of the women growing as they mastered the basic skills. In a review meeting with Nolo's coaches after this training, four of the nine people present explicitly commented on the positive value of learning new skills (Fieldnotes, July 14, 2008). Tabs commented separately on how, before the training, she only watched soccer and did not know the intricacies of passing or dribbling, but now felt able to teach it (Interview, August 18, 2008). This training also provided the coaches with information about how to plan and run a practice, although I did not witness a single practice. The practices were left out mainly because schools needed to complete the leagues and life skills lessons before deadlines, which demonstrates conflicting directions and organizational goals. The coach training emphasized the importance of practices, yet organizational time pressure restricted the number of practices completed.

The positive effects of the training were limited, however, due to last minute changes in plans and communication confusion. Two days before the first training the location was changed, leading to stressful conditions in the office for the Project Coordinator in charge of organizing the venue. Some coaches and even the Sports Coordinator were not informed of the change and went to the original venue. As a result the number of coaches attending the training was lower than expected as well as many people arriving late. A catch-up session had to be organized, for the absent coaches, which was done at the last minute and communicated poorly; resulting in only eight of the thirteen coaches required attending. People arrived late for all the sessions and homework was rarely completed on time, resulting in information being left out due to time constraints. For the catch-up session, there

were sixteen hours of material that were attempted to fit into two hours, obviously losing the majority of the information.

David Whitson (2002) discusses how sport can be an arena for female empowerment: as women learn new skills they master the use of their own bodies and sport specific equipment, which improves their confidence and self-image (see also Brady, 1998; and DSR:WC, 1997; UN, 2008). It can also improve women's leadership roles as they acquire management, negotiation and decision-making skills (UN, 2008). By learning how to plan and run practices effectively and demonstrate mastery of the physical soccer skills, the coaches have the opportunity to increase their self-confidence, physical skill, and legitimize their leadership roles. This empowerment is curtailed however, with poor communication, planning and management of events.

Family Members

The changes in self confidence are noticed not only by the coaches themselves, but also by their family members, and the families of the children. Tabs told me two examples to demonstrate this: 1) her aunt noticed how she changed from being shy to, "Just being vibey and energetic all the time" (Interview, August 18, 2008); and 2) when she visited the home of one of her players, the mother told her, "You're doing a great job, 'cause my child would come to my house and talk about you ALL the time. That's good" (ibid). In our discussion, Nolo's mother also conveyed her pleasure that Nolo is doing something she loves. As with Nolo's description of presenting the program with confidence to the Sports Council and at the schools, so it is with the rest of the coaches: when they are able to pass relevant information on to their players or family members with confidence, they receive an increase in support and acceptance of their positions.

There is also resistance to the schoolgirls' participation, and not all parents are supportive. Nolo's father said, according to Nolo, "What does she know about soccer? Eh! She's a girl!" (Interview, September 16, 2008). Many parents are concerned for the safety of the girls travelling to and from practices and games, or they want the girls at home to run errands, clean the house or cook dinner. When coaches identify girls who regularly miss practices and games, they often visit the homes of the children to understand the problem and try to clarify any misunderstandings with the family. Positive responses from participants and parents demonstrate that the organization is meeting at least some of its goals. As one Sport Assistant recounted:

> Some parents support, because today I visited, I think four parents. Because next week they are going to play another game, for the Challenge Cup, so I went to their parents and I discussed these girls, that they are playing soccer here. They already knew that they play soccer and they like it a lot (Teacher Interview 5 with Sport Assistant, August 21, 2008).

These parents show their support by allowing their children to participate and by encouraging their daughters to play. It is important for the coaches to visit families to make sure that the proper information about the program is being transferred to ensure the continued support of the parents.

Other parents demonstrate their support further by investing finances into equipment for their children. As one teacher explained:

> I got a comment from one of our players who's doing well ... I used to give them togs [soccer shoes]. ... She said to me one day, 'you see my father said ... he's going to buy me togs and the socks, so ... I'm no longer going to use your school socks and togs.' So I said, 'yeah, the families themselves are happy of what we are doing' (Teacher Interview 4, August 8, 2008).

Photo 3: School girl playing a league game in school uniform, stockings and bright orange bib.

Unfortunately most children's parents cannot afford to buy equipment and most girls play without proper shoes. Some schools have soccer shoes as part of the team kit that includes matching socks, shorts and jerseys, but most schools lack funds to provide matching jerseys and the girls play in their school uniform with brightly coloured bibs distinguishing the teams (see photo 3).

Brady and Khan (2002) describe a similar situation in Kenya's Mathare Youth Sports Association, where parents were resistant at first to allowing their daughters to participate due to safety concerns and household responsibilities. However, the girls worked hard to manage their time and strategies to ensure safety were implemented, leading the parents to become supportive of the benefits they saw for their daughters and the community (ibid). Often, as the parents see their children enjoying soccer, and benefitting physically, their initial resistance transforms to support.

Teachers

Most of the teachers are also supportive of the soccer program. A few schools and principals offer resistance after the initial agreement to participate. For instance, Kozo had one school that was particularly difficult to work with, where the teacher restricted information to serve her personal needs. The teacher responsible would not let the children out for games, would not return phone calls, and would cancel meetings at the last minute. I also had difficulty in contacting this school. After numerous phone calls, the female teacher responsible for soccer finally told me that the team had not yet started because "I don't have time for soccer" (phone call, July 30, 2008). She then gave me the name of another teacher, who cancelled our scheduled meetings twice at the last minute. I was never able to meet anyone from this school, and they finished the year without completing either the curriculum or the league. Schools are chosen for the program due to close proximity to other

schools or coaches; unforeseen obstacles, such as difficult teachers, may arise that are only encountered further into the planning process. The Chairperson for the zonal school sports committee also expressed his frustration in organizing other sporting leagues for the primary schools. He identified lazy teachers, too much paperwork, and principals who are not interested in sports as the main obstacles in receiving teacher support.

Fortunately, this was not the case for most of the schools in which SFSA worked: they provide fields to play on (when available), organizational support for releasing the children for games, and coaching support when the coaches cannot make it on time. The teachers believe that the program benefits the learners, they are proud of their teams, and understand that the girls are interested in participating. Several teachers I interviewed acknowledged that the program had positive effects: many girls were participating and learning life skills such as how to behave, protect themselves, and interact with others, in addition to technical soccer skills. The coaches demonstrate their technical knowledge by informing their players of the proper rules of football, which in turn excites and empowers the players to take the information they have gained and validate it in the classroom (Whitson, 2002). The ability to transfer accurate information to the learners validates and legitimizes the female coaches' abilities to lead in the historically male dominated territory of soccer.

In discussing how players respond to female or male coaches, another teacher did not believe gender was important:

> It doesn't necessarily have to be a man to be listened to. If you are a lady, they can listen to you. As long as you know the rules. ... But it is not strange, because ladies they do play soccer. ... It's something that is happening, it's practical (Teacher Interview 2, July 30, 2008).

This teacher also referred to a woman who does physical training for the Kaiser Chiefs, a Professional Soccer League team in South Africa, to support his argument that women coaching soccer is not only not strange, but practical. There is no doubt, however, that it is important for the women in coaching positions to have a sound understanding of the rules of the sport. This knowledge gives them the authority to present the programs with confidence and increases their support from teachers and learners. When they lack the knowledge due to insufficient training or communication barriers, the coaches may lose respect, authority or trust from the players or other staff, as described previously.

The 'Communities'

The initial response to the women in the areas where they run the programs is one of disbelief and resistance, as indicated. Zoli described the situation:

> In this program we are the ladies in our communities, we say that we are the coaches of the soccer but the people, they didn't believe us because ... they say that we can't coach soccer because we are ladies (Meeting, June 11, 2008).

Some community members are supportive once they are exposed to what the organization is accomplishing. One example of a changed community member was Nolo's friend, Ms. Ntsika, a local community developer who runs a care centre for children infected with or affected by HIV/AIDS. Nolo had been pestering her for months to come and observe the program and she finally attended the Women's Day tournament that also included HIV/AIDS life skills lessons. Ms. Ntsika was surprised by the quality of the lessons and the excitement on the fields. She told me that she had thought soccer was only for men, but now she has seen that women can play too. She is now in full support of the program, and will encourage her friends to support it (Fieldnotes, August 9, 2008).

The boys in the schools and communities are also supportive. Kozo said that the boys "are more encouraging" (Interview, September 16, 2008), they are always at the matches shouting from the sides. Several teachers also remarked that the learners rush out to watch the matches after school. When I play soccer socially on Sunday afternoons in the park, the men are usually resistant to play with a girl at first; however, after they accept that I am able to play they encourage, compliment and even defend my abilities to new men who join the game.

Conclusion

Women's football in South Africa still has a long way to go before one can say that there is equity between the sexes. In addition to organizational challenges and faced with confused communication, last minute changes of plans, poor attendance at training sessions and interpersonal difficulties, women have to confront discrimination, lack of respect and barriers to positions of decision making. As SFSA teaches its Project Coordinators, coaches and players new skills and information regarding soccer, the male dominated structures of power are confronted. Pelak (2005) has highlighted how individual players come together to challenge these gender norms, demonstrating the active position of women in Western Cape football. Information received by the women as Project Coordinators and coaches legitimizes their positions of decision-making authority and challenges stereotypical soccer gender norms and structures.

Such empowerment cannot happen by the effort of women alone; men also have to support and provide avenues for women to excel in soccer (Papa et al, 2000). Appropriate training and organizational support, with clear communication of important information must be given to the Project Coordinators and coaches by SFSA. Even with the incomplete passage of knowledge, the female Project Coordinators and coaches receive support from male teachers and headmasters, families, and community members who recognize the value of teaching life skills as well as soccer.

Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa is working in an exciting and vibrant sector of 'sport for development' where change is noticeable, although slow. Given the short amount of time the soccer division has been in operation, and the organizational problems encountered, there is considerable

potential for the future expansion of women's soccer in the Western Cape. The male dominated realm of soccer will continue to be challenged as more information is given to the women, new knowledge is utilized in positions of power, and women are considered legitimate footballers. As men are exposed to new ideas, through contact with female footballers by playing, coaching, or observing females in action, their perceptions about the legitimacy of women in football is changing.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The preceding chapters have provided a glimpse into the complex world of a 'sport for development' organization in South Africa working towards empowering youth and providing the most disadvantaged children with the opportunity to play sports and learn valuable life skills through an enjoyable medium. In specifically focusing on soccer for young black women, Sport FUNdamentals Southern Africa is also confronting the male dominated gender norms associated with soccer throughout the African continent. SFSA is moving forward despite the numerous obstacles in its path.

This research does not only direct its suggestions at this particular organization, but reveals tendencies that can be found in many sport organizations and NGOs within South Africa and across the globe. Power is prevalent in every organization and information is used to challenge, negotiate, and reinforce positions of power where individuals exercise agency to maintain personal goals and positions of influence (Long, 2001; Mosse, 2001; Rossi, 2004). Anthropology of development seeks to reveal these power structures and understand how they affect daily life and personal interactions. Through this understanding organizations and/or individuals can see the areas that need attention in order to improve overall organizational or individual performance.

Returning to the metaphor of the organization as a tree, with the trunk as the Director and Project Manager, the larger branches as the Project Coordinators, the smaller branches as the volunteer coaches, the fruits as the children, and the sap as the channels of communication carrying the nutritious pieces of information, it is evident how many processes need to work together for the tree to grow properly. There are many external factors such as the rain, sun, and wind that facilitate or inhibit the 'flow of the sap'. These include the turn-over of staff, lack of funding, poor weather conditions, problematic venues and transportation, as well as individual stereotypes, racism and sexism. These challenges are like a disease or pests that infect a tree and cripple its potential. If the disease or pests are discovered then they can be dealt with and hopefully eliminated, allowing for the tree to return to its normal growth pattern. When nutrients do not reach particular branches, those branches will die. If inadequate information is getting to the fruits, they will not grow properly, or grow with disease and rot in them. Such conditions clearly cannot promote healthy growth.

The metaphor of the tree can only go so far, however, as there is no room to manoeuvre and negotiate positions of power and authority within the structure of a tree. A tree cannot reflect when individual actors reject set procedures, are unsure of their job descriptions, or are presenting false information through 'paraffining', except through the negative effects that these processes have on individual branches or the 'tree' as a whole. The tree is a model of the proper, working organization, presented with pride from the branches' perspective. But this 'proper' organization rarely fits reality. Situations are complex, unpredictable, and constantly changing.

Communication problems within SFSA manifest at multiple sites in the organization. Individual's abilities to make effective decisions are dependent on their access to and control over information. Although lacking a formal organizational structure, there are intended paths of communication and information flow that staff are supposed to follow. However, these intentions are rarely realized, instead the communication channels are often confused, changed, or inhibited. When these intentions are not realized the staff, learners, and organization as a whole are affected. Events are planned at the last minute, children are left behind, and graduation levels in certain communities are sub-par. A clearer understanding of organizational procedures and open communication within the organization would allow for greater understanding between actors. This would not eliminate the complex problems, but the staff would know their responsibilities, providing them with more security and the ability to make effective decisions.

In response to the difficulties the Project Coordinators and coaches encounter when delivering the soccer and life skills programs, there is a phenomenon that SFSA has termed, 'paraffining'. 'Paraffining' is a form of negotiation and adaptation to pressures to perform tasks as expected, where staff withhold or distort information presenting a façade to protect the perception of their professional capabilities. This is a creative yet problematic response to the expectations they face. 'Paraffining' demonstrates how individuals understand the ideals of truth and their expected professional duties (Wolf, 2002), however due to the circumstances they find themselves in, they are unable to reach these ideals. Therefore, they 'paraffin' in order to maintain the appearance that they deserve their social position (Goffman, 1959; Long, 2001). This demonstrates how individuals have agency within structures of power, are constrained by, but also impact, these structures (Giddens, 1979; Rossi, 2004). 'Paraffining' is problematic as it can be potentially dangerous, flammable and lethal if not kept under control, just like the cooking fuel the term is named after. Understanding these complex relationships and power dynamics and how they affect information flows will allow communication problems to be addressed. SFSA can adjust their training, teaching, and reporting procedures as they focus on the root causes of the problems.

Clear communication between the Director, Project Manager, and staff members is essential in order for communication between the coaches and the players to be effective. As women gain knowledge of soccer specific techniques as well as how to plan practices and organize events, they gain self-confidence and legitimize their positions as coaches despite negative attitudes of parents, teachers, or others. Although this transfer of information and knowledge is currently limited, as women confidently present what they have learned regarding the rules of the game and their ability to play, then they are able to stand up against the claims that "girls can't play soccer". As parents, teachers, and community members more generally are exposed to women playing soccer proficiently

through the media, direct contact, or observing events where females are participating, long held perceptions that women are inferior in soccer begin to shift.

Through these interactions gender ideologies regarding soccer in South Africa are changing, albeit slowly. Women's soccer is growing across the nation, and more women are given the opportunity to participate as administrators, coaches and players. However, old mindsets do not change overnight, staff encounter information interrupters and inhibitors, and progress is slow. If 'sport for development' organizations managed the complex relationships among their personnel, enabling the flow of information, then overcoming the historical gender ideologies within South African sport would be more plausible.

Contextual issues cannot be erased over night. Individual prejudices, especially when men need to take instruction from women, are difficult to change. However, honest and open communication between individuals would reduce instances of exclusion and miscommunication that lead to anger or the desire to work alone. Having clear job descriptions and designated channels of communication within the organization could reduce the discrepancies between staff members. Continuing to ensure that trainings are conducted properly and that those leading the trainings have been trained properly themselves, can reduce the amount of 'paraffining' within the organization, as individuals will be empowered to perform their jobs properly and not feel the need to cover up for their mistakes or inabilities. This does not mean that programs will be run without problems; as the Director notes, "here in South Africa you always have to be ready to find a solution to your solution". However, when staff receive sufficient training, are able to communicate freely with each other, and can present a consolidated program, they can confront the challenges together and the goals of the organization can continue to be realized.

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Appendix A - Observed Activity Schedule

Date	Scheduled Activity	Actual Activity	Reason for difference
Wed, June 11	Interview with PCs	Interview with PCs	
Thurs, June 12	Visit Nolo's site	Visited Zoli's site	Nolo did not have a program
Wed, June 25	Soccer skills at Nolo's school with other NGO workers	Soccer skills at Nolo's school without other NGO workers	unknown
Thurs, June 26	Go to Monte's program with American volunteers	Go to another sports program with Americans	Monte's program did not run
Fri, June 27	NGO Interview	NGO Interview	
Mon, June 30	Sports History conference, Stellenbosch	Sports History conference, Stellenbosch	
Tues, July 1	Sports History conference, Stellenbosch	Sports History conference, Stellenbosch	
Wed, July 2	Brainstorming with external volunteers, program at Nolo's, set-up leadership camp	Brainstorming, no program at Nolo's, I go to Monte's vacation program, leadership camp begins	There is communication confusion with the American volunteers with how long they were expected to work and set-up for leadership camp.
Thurs, July 3 - Sat July 5	Leadership Camp	Leadership Camp	
Mon, July 7	Monday Meeting, program at Nolo's	No meeting, no program at Nolo's, I stay in the office all day	No meeting because few PCs arrive, Serge says because vacation programs are starting. No program at Nolo's because of poor weather and no indoor facility.
Tues, July 8	Vac prog at Monte's	Vac prog at Nolo's (only for about 10 minutes)	We were told we were going to Monte's, but on the way the vehicle let him out and we kept driving to Nolo's, which had been going on for a couple hours with about 120 kids, but it started to rain when we arrived and the kids dispersed.
Wed, July 9	Office	Office	
Thurs, July 10	Soccer specific coach training	Soccer specific coach training	The location changed the day before, as they wanted to make sure they had somewhere indoors due to poor weather possibilities, and the previous location was holding refugees from the Xenophobic attacks (only thought of the day before).
Fri, July 11	Soccer specific coach training	Soccer specific coach training	
Mon, July 14	Monday meeting, Nolo Coach meeting	Monday meeting, Nolo Coach meeting	
Tues, July 15	Office	Office	

Appendix A - Observed Activity Schedule

Date	Scheduled Activity	Actual Activity	Reason for difference
Wed, July 16	Coach meeting at Monte's	Coach Meeting at Monte's - Tabs announces her promotion	
Thurs, July 17	NGO Interview	NGO Interview	
Fri, July 18	Soccer coach catch-up training	Soccer catch-up training	The training started late with only 8 of 13 people attending, only had 2 hours to cover 16 hours of material
Sat, July 19	Soccer specific coach training	Soccer specific coach training	
Sun, July 20	Soccer specific coach training	Soccer specific coach training	
Mon, July 21	Monday meeting, UKUSA launch	Monday meeting, coach interview, UKUSA launch	Launch: late start, not all schools attend, delegation of activities in the morning, changes on location, lack of materials, first mention of 'paraffining'
Tues, July 22	Refugee event at Monte's	Refugee event at Monte's	
Wed, July 23	Soccer practices and lessons at Zoli's	Practice, lessons, and coach meeting (not soccer)	I went to visit three of Zoli's schools that were scheduled to practice, but nothing was happening. At the final school, another sport was practicing so I watched there.
Thurs, July 24	Office	Office	
Fri, July 25	Meeting with Zoli and Tabs and a Headmaster, coach meeting at Nolo's	Meeting with Zoli and Tabs and Headmaster, no meeting at Nolo's	Nolo was working late to prepare for the training the following day. A coach tried to run the meeting without Nolo, only the group homework was completed.
Sat, July 26	Soccer specific coach training	Soccer specific coach training	
Mon, July 28	Monday Meeting, meeting with soccer division, teacher interview	Monday meeting, no soccer division meeting, teacher interview	No soccer meeting as only one Project Coordinator came to the office. I was 40 minutes late for the interview because I was at the wrong school due to communication confusion and couldn't get a hold of Nolo
Tues, July 29	Program at Monte's	Program with Zoli and Tabs	I could not contact Monte to get details on his program. Had to search for the girls, but found them and watched life skills lesson in a classroom.
Wed, July 30	Two Teacher Interviews	Two Teacher interviews, PC interview	I was able to do more than expected with Monte in the office.

Appendix A - Observed Activity Schedule

Date	Scheduled Activity	Actual Activity	Reason for difference
Fri, Aug 1	Sport Division meeting, NGO interview, Coach meeting at Tabs'	Sport Division meeting, No NGO interview, Coach meeting at Tabs'	The NGO interview did not happen as I arrived at our scheduled meeting place to find the street blocked by police and the interviewee was not answering her phone. I contacted her later and we re-scheduled for the weekend, which did not happen, and we communicated over email.
Wed, Aug 6	Donation celebration, Teacher Interview	PC meeting, Donation celebration, no teacher interview	Teacher strike changes celebration plans, some schools arrive 1 hour after the others, indoor facility not booked for storing food, supposed to start at 1:30, Monte delegates tasks at 2:20, no cones for drills, spend most of the time doing energizers, my interview is rescheduled for Friday.
Thurs, Aug 7	Teacher Interview	No interview, Life skills at Kozo's	Interview rescheduled for next Thursday, three schools combined for life skills, no time to practice.
Fri, Aug 8	Teacher Interview	Teacher Interview, Soccer PC meeting	
Sat, Aug 9	Women's Day Tournament	Women's Day Tournament	On Wed the proposed budget was too high and had to change from 24 to 16 teams, 3 of these did not pitch, one did not have enough players, Monte makes own decision to disqualify Kulani Primary.
Mon, Aug 11	Monday Meeting, Interview with Serge and Nick	Monday Meeting, Interview with Serge	Nick is in and out of the office, has limited time, we reschedule for Thursday
Thurs, Aug 14	Interview Nick, teacher interview, life skills with Tabs	Interview Nick, no teacher interview, life skills with Tabs	The teacher cancels on me at the last minute, I go to watch Tabs' impromptu life skills lessons instead, she was going to do two schools, but came late and could only do one.
Mon, Aug 18	Monday Meeting, PC Interview	Monday Meeting, PC Interview	
Thurs, Aug 21	Teacher Interview	Teacher Interview	
Fri, Aug 29	PCs Review Meeting	PCs Review Meeting, 'Best of Community' Nolo and Kozo, coach interview	Changes on Wednesday led to the combination of Nolo and Kozo's 'Best of Community' events, one team unable to arrange transport does not arrive.
Thurs, Sept 11	Board of Directors Interview	Board of Directors Interview	
Tues, Sept 16	PC Interviews	PC Interviews, coach interview	One of the coaches was in the office so I used the opportunity to interview her.

Table 1 - Summary of Observed Activity Schedule

(also found on p. 24)

Type of Activity	Number Scheduled	Did not happen	Happened as planned	Slight Change of Plans (started late, interview moved to a different date)	Major change of plans (change locations, date, # schools)
PC Meetings	9	2	7	0	0
Coach Meetings	7	1	6	0	0
Programs (combo life skills and games or practices)	9	5	1	3	0
Events (trainings, special days)	10	0	3	4	3
Lessons	3	0	1	2	0
Practices	4	3	1	0	0
Games	1	0	0	1	0
Interviews	18	2	11	5	0
Total	61	13	30	15	3
Percentage of Total	100%	21%	49%	25%	5%

Appendix B - Staff Demographic Profiles

Name	Position	Age	Sex	Highest Education Level	Residential Area
Serge	Regional Director	37	Male	University	Salt River
Nick	Project Manager	27	Male	University	Cape Town
Nolo	Head Football Project Coordinator, Life Skills Coordinator	21	Female	High School	Township
Monte	Project Coordinator, Sports Coordinator	22	Male	High School	Township
Kozo	Project Coordinator	23	Female	High School	Township
Zoli	Project Coordinator	19	Female	High School	Township
Tabs	Project Coordinator	21	Female	Grade 11	Township

Name	Residential History	Yrs playing soccer	Yrs Coaching Soccer	Others in household
Serge	Central Africa, USA, Port Elizabeth	0	0	Wife, 3 Children
Nick	Durban, Johanesburg	0	0	None
Nolo	Cape Town	0	0	Mother, Friend
Monte	West Coast, South Africa	16	3	Sister, Cousins (1 male, 1 female)
Kozo	Cape Town	2	0	Mother, Sister, Son, Nephew
Zoli	Eastern Cape	0	0	Mother, 2 Brothers, Son
Tabs	Eastern Cape	0	0	Brother, Daughter, Son